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ABSTRACT

This book presents six papers on Latino migrant workers and recent Indochinese refugees in the United States, most of which focus on problems of fieldwork. The book's three sections, "Migrant Workers," "Indochinese Refugees" and "Research Summaries and Reports," each contains two papers and an introduction. (1) "Rural Migratory Labor in California: Some Key Research Issues" (Nadine Robles and Richard Day) argues that research on migrant workers is made difficult by the workers' constant mobility, marginal status, and aversion to the "official world." (2) "Migrant Flows into an Urban-Industrial Center: Some Key Research Issues" (Rodolfo Alvarez) discusses the relationship of Latino migrant workers to human services organizations. (3) "Processing of Indochinese Refugees" (Joyce Bennett Justus) and (4) "Field Study Problems in a Refugee Camp: Community and Bureaucracy Compounded and Confounded" (Stanley F. Wiseman) describe problems encountered by data collectors while studying the group of Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees at Camp Pendleton, California. The fifth and sixth papers "Latino Adversity: Culture, Disease and Stress among Latin American Immigrants--A Summary" (Lucy Cohen) and (6) "Organizations Servicing Puerto Ricans and Virgin Islanders in New York City--A Report" (Carmen Allende) provide overviews of work which has been or is being carried out on special aspects of the immigration phenomenon. Notes on work in progress and on the contributors conclude the document. (KH)

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The Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies, founded in 1973, is organized under the Smithsonian's Division of Science. The Research Institute focuses on immigration flows which have been affected by legislation since 1965. It also explicitly includes American extraterritorial jurisdictions among its scholarly concerns.

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Exploratory Fieldwork on Latino Migrants and Indochinese Refugees

RIIES Research Notes No. 1

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PREFACE

The Smithsonian Institution is often known as a museum of art and artifacts or a center of "hard" scientific research in such traditional fields as biology, astronomy, ecology, ethnography, physical anthropology, or classical theory. As a research center, however, it also has growing interests in contemporary human phenomena.

The Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies (RIIES) was founded in 1973 under the administration of the Division of Science. RIIES's mission includes research, dissemination, stiumlation and facilitation of interdisciplinary study on immigration, and consultative services on the broad range of knowledge of United States immigration.

One of RIIES's major foci is on recent and contemporary immigration to the United States, a subject which has not to date received adequate attention from the scholarly community. Such a focus complements the Research Institute's goal of achieving a fuller, studied understanding of immigration, its patterns and characteristics, its ongoing impacts on American society and discernible implications of the future of the international community. The Institute's *Research Notes Series* falls within this perspective.

The *Series* provides a forum through which persons working on recent United States immigration can report on the progress and preliminary findings of their research. Its major purposes are:

- To better understand the situations and experiences of groups ranging from 'elusive' and relatively 'invisible' migrant populations to Indochinese refugees on the one hand and, on the other hand, sociological 'immigrants' from extra-territorial U.S. jurisdictions who, because of that legalistic technicality, are not statistically viewed as immigrants.

- To demonstrate different approaches and methodologies used to research these populations and to discover the state and usefulness of various types of data sources on these populations.
- To discuss the experiences of researchers who have tried to tap these data sources.
- To gather information which will be short-lived or is liable to soon become unavailable to researchers.
- To offer material which will sensitize future researchers to the populations involved and to opportunities offered by and problems with data on these populations.

We hope that this series will help to further research into the new immigration and thereby will contribute to the Smithsonian's goal: to increase and diffuse knowledge among men.

INDTRODUCTION: MIGRANT WORKERS

During the past decade increasing interest has been shown in the structure, culture, and conditions of migrant labor in the United States. This interest has emanated from many quarters -- social scientists, public officials, and human service personnel. But, substantive research on migrant workers has been seriously hampered by a number of structural factors inherent to the condition of being a migratory laborer. One of these factors is the geographic mobility of migrants. This mobility makes it difficult for researchers to use many of the traditional methods of collection data on migrants from the migrants themselves. An additional factor which produces the same consequence is brought about by problems of the legal documentation of workers. Many workers do not have adequate documentation and are therefore reluctant to have any contact with people who may be perceived as a threat to the migrants' ability to live and work in this country.

The two research notes contained in this section attempt to discover the extent to which private human service and governmental agencies can provide al alternative source of information about migrant workers and their conditions. Both research notes deal primarily with Latino migrants in California -- one in a rural, the other in an urban setting. Both reports are exploratory in nature and represent only part of what was a larger research effort. The paper by Nadine Robles and

Richard Day focuses on the nature of the data on rural migrants and why the data possess certain characteristics. The work by Rodolfo Alvarez, with assistance from Sherrin Packer, discusses two substantive aspects of the relationship between migrants and human service organizations which should be kept in mind by individuals who will subsequently do research on migrant workers.

The papers offer interesting insights both into the kinds of data obtainable from service organizations as well as some of the problems and tensions faced by migrants. For example, the contention that the migrants are, in the words of Robles and Day, "marginal, voiceless and often times invisible" is supported. Alvarez correctly points out that legal documentation represents a great source of stress for migrants. Yet, there are serious problems in attempting to learn about migrant workers through use of organizational data of the kinds surveyed here. It seems that we learn less about the migrants themselves through studying these data than we do about the organizations -- who political pressures and organizational goals affect the data they collect and the orientations of agency administrators; how the lack of an overall definition of "migrant", brought about at least partially by a lack of organizational coordination, produces statistics which are not comparable across organizations; and so on.

These findings imply two suggestions regarding the need for future research. First, while valuable qualitative and suggestive quantitative data can be obtained on migrants through government and human service organizations, there seems to be no way around the conclusion that major efforts must be made by researchers to collect primary data about migrants from migrants. No short cuts exist if we are to gain solid, reasonable data about migrants.

A second suggestion calls for a type of research which would center on the organizations. Government and private human service organizations and the statistics they produce are most important, both in understanding the complete migrant experience and in procuring for migrants social and human services. Definitions of problems and their magnitudes, and solutions to those problems are based on the statistics and perspectives of these organizations. Studying these organizations and how they interact with their environment should not only help us to understand the nature of bureaucracy, but may aid in the development and implementation of fair and humane human policy.

RURAL MIGRATORY LABOR IN CALIFORNIA: SOME KEY RESEARCH ISSUES

Nadine Robles and Richard Day

INTRODUCTION

This summary was prepared in order to provide the reader with a practical orientation to some of the complexities involved in doing research on rural migratory labor in the state of California. To a large extent, the materials included in this report are the result of a preliminary information gathering and data evaluation study, laying particular emphasis on the institutional sites of this problem and their observed impact on the life of itinerant agricultural workers. Our primary goal here is to demonstrate that certain recurrent difficulties in collecting accurate, reliable information on the State's migrant laborers are actually a product or, more precisely, an "artifact" of the situation under study.

Perhaps the most frustrating difficulties encountered in the effort to collect comprehensive data on California's rural migrants stem from two sources: First, the State's itinerant workers represent a marginal, voiceless and oftentimes "invisible" section of the population; and second, the migrant service organizations located at the federal, state, county and community levels are isolated from one another, lacking any overall coordination or unifying vision of the problem.

The inconspicuous quality of the migrants' life style arises not only from their constant diffuse movement throughout the countryside, but from a concomitant exclusion and, in many cases, avoidance of "normal everyday" institutions. To the extent that they do not or

cannot participate in geographically stable communities, they are effectively barred from the advantages inherent in a wide variety of social, economic, and political institutions (e.g., church, education, suffrage, etc.). This precarious sort of existence takes on a particularly attenuated form in the case of undocumented workers (i.e., "illegal aliens") who must conscientiously attempt to lead an anonymous, underground life in order to escape the attention of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. In short, the qualities of mobility and marginality so characteristic of the migrants' life in the agricultural hinterlands has tended to render them politically substanceless and enhance their already silent, shadowy existence. Far from the urban centers and beyond the "collective understanding" of the bureaucrats and administrators charged with providing them services, the migrant's traditional reticence to become involved with the "official world" has helped to create a rural subculture that brings a majority of the State's itinerant workers into only occasional, delusory contact with public and private agencies.

The above remarks suggest that the attempt to obtain reliable data on the seemingly amorphous caravans of individuals that make up California's migrant labor force is a formidable task. These initial obstacles are further compounded by the peculiar organization of the migrant service agencies, the character of which also acts to inhibit the efficient collection of comprehensive information about the State's seasonal workers. In both the public and private sectors, there is no "superagency" or master plan that serves to hierarchically integrate the various migrant programs, prevent an overlap or repetition of duties, or ensure a comprehensive, continuous type of functioning among the several agencies. Instead, we discover a multitude of autonomous organizations, each one with its own unique history, ethos, internal structure, boundaries, external network, and cor-

porate survival concerns. Not only do these agencies function as independent units, but they often can be found competing against one another for the same funds, equipment, and clients. Presently, long-range planning is largely out of the question since each agency's future extends only to the expiration date of its present grant or to the end of the legislative fiscal year. Beyond the ever increasing pressure on organizations to provide their donors with "visible" (e.g., statistical) evidence of productivity, this piecemeal type of funding also means that the life span of any particular program is ultimately dependent upon the State's whimsical political climate, a climate that, today, may view the migrant worker as an important social problem and, tomorrow, may decide that it is necessary to sacrifice his interests to other economic priorities.

In such a milieu, information collection becomes a haphazard affair. For example, there is no single agency capable of providing an overall map of the current migratory programs and, therefore, locating and interviewing the representatives of five different programs did not guarantee the discovery of a sixth migrant service. Moreover, the nature, content, and reliability of the materials received led us to become increasingly wary of how, when, by whom, and for what purposes a certain body of data had been assembled. Over time, the conviction grew that many of the inaccuracies, gaps, and incompletions in the data were either a precipitate of the various political forces impinging on this issue or an artifact of the goals of the agency doing the collection. To illustrate, certain phenomena, (e.g., undocumented workers) were ignored or grossly underestimated by certain organizations simply because they were not *supposed* to exist and, in other cases, the effectiveness of specific regulatory measures (e.g., minimum wage laws) were judged on the basis of the enforcement agency's own activities, rather than on any factual knowledge concerning the *real* frequency of violations (i.e.,

"if violations are not reported, they do not exist..."). We finally concluded that the absence of any coherent integration among the various migrant services, along with the systematic blind spots and biases of the donor organizations, were the critical factors that not only adversely affected the actual data collection process, but, even more importantly, the nature and quality of the information itself.

DATA GATHERING

Data collection procedures utilized in this survey included the following: (1) inventorying the published materials in Bay area libraries, (2) soliciting research reports and service agency descriptions, (3) personal interviews with important or knowledgeable individuals, and (4) keeping detailed field notes which chronicled the collection of information and yielded the subsequent network material. Entree was normally gained into an organization by introducing the research as being sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution, whose aim it was to gather and evaluate the currently available information on California's migratory laborers. Reactions to this introduction were mixed. At the state level, for example, we oftentimes were reminded that under the new Governor there were no secrets from the public, and, therefore, the files were completely open to us. Some of the small private programs provided more interesting receptions. One such organization would not allow access in any form unless an adequate sum of money was donated and until a promise had been extracted to give the group written credit for contributing to the report. Another community based organization reported that it was totally preoccupied with providing services and, hence, would not allow any of its members to be interviewed, nor would it send any information describing its activities. It should be emphasized, however, that a majority of the private agencies were readily

accessible, if not extremely generous with their time and information. Since the library inventories and solicitation procedures (1 and 2) seem to merit little more description, only the personal interviews and network materials (3 and 4) will be discussed in greater detail.

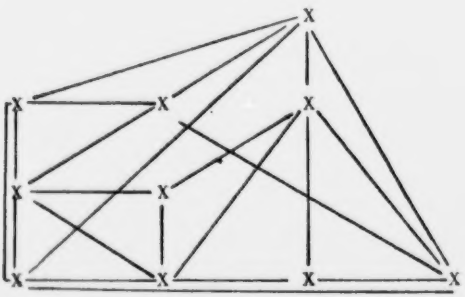
Interviews

The interviews were usually one-to-one interactions and remained quite flexible in both length and location. The sessions ranged from one-half-hour to three hours in length and frequently took place while accompanying an individual on his routine tasks; they typically occurred in private offices, kitchens, living rooms, bars, coffee shops, and, of course, over the telephone. Although the interviews were open-ended in form, there was also a conscientious attempt to extract a particular body of specialized knowledge from each informant. In this manner, our initial, prearranged questions normally led to a wider conversation in which the informant was encouraged to answer the general question, "What do you know and *how* do you know it?"

If each interview period is viewed as a unique social event, then it can be understood that the responses to our questions varied both quantitatively and qualitatively from one session to another. Perhaps, the subtle character of any particular interview session can be illustrated by the case of one respondent who inquired of us, some months after his final interview, "One thing I've always been curious about, do you *really* work for the Smithsonian?" Having been reassured that we indeed were representatives of the Smithsonian Institution, he noted, "I always thought it was just a great cover story." Thus, the content of any specific interview period and the impressions carried away by both parties must be viewed, in large part, as the artifact of a complex, fluid, and oftentimes deceptive process of social interaction.

Networks

The focus will now be altered in order to study the pattern of referrals and contacts, and its consequences for the process of data collection. This perspective not only yields information about the various sources of data on migratory laborers, but provides an important means by which one can begin to evaluate the substantive content of the materials received. Contrary to our early expectations, few of the projects's resources (i.e. individuals, public agencies, private organizations, etc.) were in communication with one another and, frequently, one was not even aware of the other's existence. Even more ironically, our research occasionally thrust *us* into the role of "resources" for our informants and we found ourselves facilitating the flow of information across boundaries that previously were impervious to communication. In this manner, it was discovered that our several contacts *lacked* a coherent, interconnected structure of formal (i.e. institutionalized) or, for that matter, informal information channels.

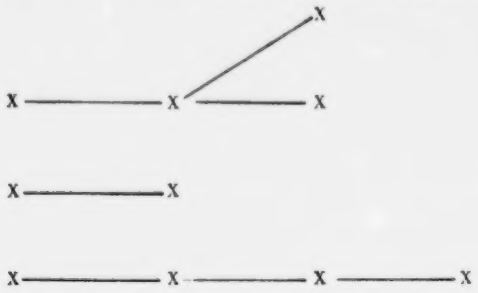


(X represents contacts)

EXPECTED CONFIGURATION

Figure 1

Instead, we found that our various referrals formed small clusters (i.e., networks) of specialized groups that (1) were weakly connected by unilinear links, and (2) demonstrated few, if any ties to other existing networks.



(X represents contacts)

ACTUAL CONFIGURATION

Figure 2

This latter configuration of small isolates provides some indication of why compiling the research information became such a tedious and time consuming task.

During the course of our investigation, it also became apparent that these networks were not composed of random elements, rather they were linked together around common substantive interests such as health, immigration, labor relations, housing, etc. It is this exclusive interaction between agencies that share similar interests which promotes the phenomenon of "network insulation." Moreover, it should be noted that the specialized substantive concern of each network usually does not focus on migratory agricultural workers, *per se*; the immigration network, for example, was composed of organizations whose primary activities were directed towards a much larger population of clients including individuals who were experiencing difficulties with their resident or alien status. Hence, it was only through this tangential

concern that they had become involved in or knowledgeable about the characteristic socioeconomic problems of undocumented farm workers and "green carders" (i.e. resident noncitizens).

This lack of intranetwork communication and the concomitant specialization of each network was particularly apparent in the informants' everyday knowledge concerning the State's migratory laborers. To illustrate, reading interests varied with each network and reflected the segmentation of our sources; moreover, seldom did two individuals from separate networks recommend the same book or article for inclusion in the project's bibliography. In a similar manner, we also discovered that no individual or agency could provide a comprehensive or integrated perspective on the problems of California's itinerant laborers. Instead, interviews and research reports usually digressed into discussions on the nuances of the particular program's operation, a process which left the investigators with the impression that the organization and its available services ultimately took on a more important reality than the clients themselves.

As most respondents worked within the enclosed boundaries of their networks, only a few "key informants" were able to perceive the basic ramifications of their activities and showed a familiarity with migratory laborers that was not limited to the normal parameters defined by the agency's substantive concerns. Here it must be emphasized that these key informants were not only few in number, but of immense value to the investigators. Characteristically, these individuals were second level, younger employees of an agency, rather than a director or vice chairman, and had the type of job that forced them to spend long periods of time in the field. For example, one key respondent, well versed in many facets of rural housing, directed us to a series of relevant state agencies, recommended various county and

community organizations we should contact, and introduced us to several other well informed people, knowledgeable about different aspects of the itinerant farm workers' socioeconomic problems. In addition, this pivotal informant furnished us with many hours of insightful interview material which dealt with rural housing on several different levels of analysis. To illustrate, the individual succinctly cited the reasons for the diminishing role of the grower in the private sector of farm worker housing and the increasing control that the labor contractor exercises over the same camps. At a more general level, he also classified the many types of housing available throughout the state and suggested which groups of migrant seasonal laborers were likely to reside in each category (e.g. undocumented workers are often forced to live in unregistered illegal labor camps). Stated briefly, key informants were of particular value because they directed us to contacts outside their respective networks, helped us to integrate much of the fragmented data we received, and provided an opportunity to cross-check the validity of the information that had been derived from other, less informed sources.

SOCIOECONOMIC ATTRIBUTES

In this section, we shall discuss the overall characteristics of the data collected in order to give further substance to the preceding methodological comments. Specifically, information purporting to describe the socioeconomic attributes and health problems of rural migratory laborers will be presented and evaluated.

Focusing initially upon the defining characteristics of the migrant farm worker, we find that we have collected a bundle of segmented descriptive material, all of which alleges to deal with the same subject population but, in fact, takes into account only fractured aspects of the migrant's total livelihood and

existence. Most of the programs and agencies surveyed provide services for simply a portion of the State's migrant labor force and, as a consequence, their perspective on these workers is usually *a function of the* group with which they characteristically are in contact. Beyond the amorphous attribute of having moved at least once in the last twelve month period in search of work, various agencies may create contrasting definitions of the "migrant worker" in accordance with the nonoverlaping sections of the population that they serve. To illustrate, California's Migrant Housing and Migrant Education programs define their recipients somewhat differently. In defining the "migrant child," for example, the latter agency includes the offspring of itinerant fishermen.

> A migratory child of a migratory agricultural worker or a migratory fisherman has moved with his family from one school district to another during the twelve months preceding his identification in order that the parent or other member of his immediate family might secure employment in agriculture or in the processing of agricultural or fishery products.

In contrast, the defining criteria utilized by California's Migrant Housing Agency emphasizes the features of low income, agricultural families (i.e. a family of four may not earn more that $3,780 annually). One member of the household must also fit the following criteria:

> A migrant is a seasonal worker in agriculture... who finds jobs by moving each year to one or more work locations beyond the *normal commuting distance* (undefined except as the normal "day-haul") from a place called "home." Customarily, he returns to his home when the crop season is over elsewhere (State of California, Migrant Services 1975b:18).

Quickly scanning these definitions, it appears that the second does not include migratory fishermen or "high income" agricultural migrants, and neither fully considers the case of itinerant workers traveling alone.

As a result, the data collected by Migrant Education refers to a larger population than materials obtained from Migrant Housing, and the characteristics of both segments together fail to reflect an accurate picture of the total migratory labor force. In general, the concealed problem of differential definitions has created an ongoing variance in the data populations and a concomitant confusion over the reliability of statistical reports. Cortés (1974:113-114), for example, attempted to investigate the total number of seasonal laborers required annually to meet the national agricultural demand. He finally discovered that the estimates varied in direct accordance with the definition being employed; that is to say, from a figure of 5,000,000 migrant workers reported by Economic Opportunity and an estimate of 2,265,000 laborers derived from the U.S. Census Bureau, to a total seasonal labor force of 963,000 individuals as reported by the *Census of Agriculture*.

Similar difficulties arise in the attempt to ascertain the magnitude and structure of California's agricultural labor force. Even the most comprehensive data from the State's Employment Development Department remains suspect since all of the information is based directly upon reports supplied by California's growers. Here it is important to recall that the growers have little intrinsic interest in collecting accurate data; after all, it is a time consuming, economically irrelevant chore that can be effectively handled through vague and incomplete estimates. What is more, one must keep in mind the occasions on which it is in the employer's interest to manipulate or disguise the figures reported to EDD; the most obvious examples would be in the case of growers who employ undocumented workers and school-age minors, or make use of other improper or illegal labor practices. The number of these violations reported by other sources (i.e. United Farm Workers, Immigration and Naturalization Service) and the lack of any external

check on the growers' figures suggest that the statistical material collected under the present system is less reliable.

TABLE I

	California Employment Development Department (Sept.1974)[1]	California Migrant Education[2] 1974	California Migrant Housing Services[3] 1974	California Rural Health[4] 1971-72
Total Agricultural Laborers	365,000	——	——	——
Seasonal Labor Force	188,200	——	——	22,753 patients
Estimated Migrant Population	61,400 100%	80,000 migrant children	7,500[5] migrant families	——
Migrant Population Receiving Services	NA	27,685 100%	2,799 100%	8,882 100%
Interstate Migrants (Home base Calif.)	34,700 56.5%	75%	651 23.3%	3,608 40.7%
Total Intrastate Migrants	26,700 43.5%	25%	2,116 76.7%	4,884 54.8%
Unites States Intrastate Migrants	——	10%	958 35.3%	2,475 27.7%
Mexican Intrastate Migrants	——	15%	1,158 41.4%	2,409 27.1%

[1] State of California, Employment Development Department, 1975.

[2] Migrant Education Consultant

[3] State of California, Migrant Services Section, 1975a

[4] State of California, Department of Public Health, 1972

[5] Estimate supplied by an employee of California Migrant Housing.

The totally unrealistic quality of these estimates concerning the size of California's seasonal labor force only became fully apparent, however, after we began to

inquire about the number of undocumented workers employed by the agricultural sector of the economy. Although EDD estimated that at least 122,000 "illegal aliens" worked in the State's fields during 1974 (State of California, EDD 1974:16), one representative of a private agency suggested that, "Anybody who has any *real* knowledge about the magnitude of this problem woudn't even hazard a guess." An INS official also stated, "I don't know how many [undocumented workers] there are, nobody knows. I have personally pulled up in front of a field and seen over half the workers run for cover." Finally, a third informant related a conversation that was held with one of his contacts living in the Central Valley, the latter told him, "There isn't one grower down here that I know of that doesn't make use of 'wetback' labor." Hence, the existence of an ineffective body of immigration law and the perennial under-funding of the enforcement agency (i.e. INS), not to mention the economic advantage reaped by employers from the *status quo*, are the key factors that promote the present shortage of reliable data on the actual number of undocumented workers in California's fields. In this sense, our inability to accurately estimate the size of the State's migrant labor force is, to a large extent, simply an artifact of the ongoing political and economic maneuvering which is involved in the creation and implementation of immigration policy.

Likewise, the information on migrant workers' annual income, ethnic composition, and seasonal itinerancy remain equally problematic. Although most resource agencies agree that the rural migrant earns an extremely low income compared to other, more fortunate members of the labor force, it is difficult to obtain reliable figures on seasonal workers' actual earnings. In 1964, it was reported that the migrant farm worker earned between $700 and $1,338 annually on the basis of 120 days work (Young 1972:77). By 1970, the U.S. Census recorded that

the median earnings for a male farm laborer (including foremen) had reached $3,749 and for his female counterpart $1,539 annually. These two figures provide a basic range within which most estimates fall, if one remembers that the latter figures are grossly overvalued for the seasonal migrant due to the inclusion of foremen and year-round agricultural laborers. Currently, California's Migrant Housing reports that an average family (composed of 5.3 people) residing in a state camp earned a total income of $3,678 annually. At the same time, however, another informant noted that the Migrant Housing data was not completely trustworthy because families will oftentimes under-report their income, thereby insuring that they will remain qualified to live in the camps.

In 1974, migrant agricultural workers were finally included in the State's minimum wage law and, in the same year, the U.S. Department of Agriculture reported that the average hourly wage for farm workers had risen to $2.63 per hour. This figure, however, can be extremely deceptive for many reasons. First, the State's Department of Industrial Relations (DIR) employs *only 40* full-time enforcement agents in order to monitor compliance with basic labor law in *all* of California's industries, both urban *and* rural. Moreover, one DIR supervisor noted that the department's enforcement problems are compounded by the fact that "It is particularly difficult to get complaints from the agricultural sector; the migrants naturally fear any type of law officer and usually do not want to become involved with them. . ." Second, the State's minimum wage does not affect the actual earnings of migrant groups such as undocumented workers and school-aged minors, who are often hired surreptitiously and paid at a much lower rate. And third, as low as these figures are, they still do not express the full extent of the farm workers' impoverished and exploited condition. For example, the minimum wage fails to take into account the money that is often automatically

TABLE 2

	TOTAL	MEXICAN ORIGINS		ANGLO	BLACK	NATIVE AMER.	ORIENTAL	OTHER	NOT REPORTED
California Migrant Education[1] 1974	Migrant Children 23,861	"Spanish Surname" 21,671 90.8%		—	—	—	—	—	—
California Rural Health[2] 1971-72	Clinic Patients 29,798	"Mexican" 23,445 78.7%		4090 13.7%	472 1.6%	80 0.3%	104 0.4%	346 1.2%	1261 4.2%
California Migrant Housing[3] 1974	Migrant Families 2,799	"Mexican" 2124 75.9%	"Mexican American" 583 20.8%	86 3.1%	1 .0%	0 .0%	1 .0%	4 .1%	—

[1]State of California, Department of Education, Bureau of Migrant Education, 1975

[2]State of California, Department of Public Health, 1972

[3]State of California, Migrant Services Section, 1975a

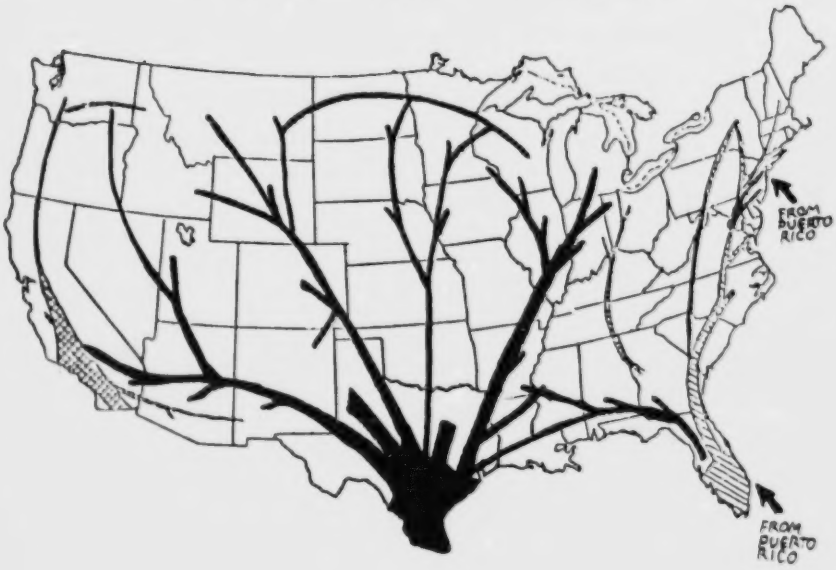
deducted from the migrant's salary by contractors, growers, and other agents that supply him with transportation, food, lodging, and similar necessities -- usually at an inflated price. Briefly, the above comments indicate that it is presently impossible to obtain reliable information about the actual incomes of migrant laborers without first undertaking a careful budgetary study on the microsociological level.

In terms of ethnic composition, there is a general consensus among the available research documents that a large majority of California's migratory farm workers are Mexican in origin. However, a close scrutiny of the pertinent materials uncovers significant ambiguities (see Table 2). To illustrate, we learned from interview data that there is a sizable Filipino migrant population. How was this ethnic group classified? Was it included in the "Spanish Surname," "Oriental," or "Other" categories? Was it even considered? Similarly, are seasonal laborers of Portugese descent categorized as "Anglo," "Spanish Surname," or "Other"? From a methodological point of view, this type of rigid but ambiguous category system may disguise the movement of various ethnic groups into and out of the migratory labor force, while artificially inflating a certain category of workers through an uncritical mixing of individuals from several nationalities.

Turning our attention to the migrants' itinerancy, there seems to be little or no detailed research concerned with the many routes traveled by California's seasonal farm laborers. We were able to acquire a large-scale map from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that traces, in very general fashion, the travel patterns of the nation's itinerant farm workers, and we also received descriptions of smaller, more specific routes during several interview sessions. The following are examples of the sketchy accounts submitted by informants.

Figure 3

TRAVEL PATTERNS OF SEASONAL MIGRATORY AGRICULTURAL WORKERS



This map shows the major directions of the northward migratory movement of domestic agricultural workers. The movement is reversed as the crop season ends in the northern States and the workers drift back to their home-base areas—for many of them, southern California, Texas, and Florida.

Southern Negroes predominate among the agricultural migrants in the East Coast States and U.S. citizens of Mexican ancestry in the other States. In addition, low-income southern white families, Puerto Ricans, and Indians are found in the domestic agricultural migrant population.

Source: U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, and U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, Domestic Agricultural Migrants in the United States (Public Health Service Publication No. 540; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, October, 1966)

a. There are two groups of workers that come from Michoaca, Mexico: one group travels directly to Watsonville and the other goes immediately to Dixon. They work eight to nine months out of the year, then return to Mexico during the winter.

b. The Mexicali migrants are men who travel in a group together. They leave their families in Mexico and specialize in cutting lettuce, broccoli, and celery. On their route, they make about three stops a year in Arizona, California, and Mexico.

c. There are a large number of migrant laborers who live permanently in east Los Angeles and commute to Salinas during the harvest season, only to return home on weekends.

Many of our informants noted that the customary tendency is for California's farm workers to travel northward throughout the summer months, following the succesive peak seasons for various crops. Our additional data further suggests, however, that this general movement is actually composed of numerous smaller migratory routes like the ones described above. Unfortunately, we lack two crucial pieces of research at the present time: first, a study of the actual travel patterns followed by the different groups that together make up California's seasonal labor force; and second, an analysis of the socioeconomic factors that determine the emergence and demise of these routes. In regard to the latter problem, many of our informants indicated that travel routes may be affected by several important variables besides the simple availability of work: for example, (1) informal obligations and contacts (with growers and labor contractors), (2) friendship patterns (among migrants from the same village or geographic area), (3) traditional knowledge and habits, (4) customary priorities held by certain ethnic groups over specific crops (Filipinos in grapes, and Mexicans in lettuce), (5) the presence of decent family housing or state camps, and the like. Although the above materials are very suggestive, it is vital to emphasize that currently there is little hard information

about the nature of these migratory routes, and no data concerning how these travel patterns are responding to the changing productive organization of the State's rural economy (i.e., mechanization).

Finally, the fragmented, reactive approach to problem-solving currently applied by most private and public organizations means that there is little or no reliable information about the changing character and demand for migratory workers in California. The remarks of one agency vice director are apposite here: "Planning, . . . Jesus, there is no way we can plan over six, maybe eight months ahead." As a result, rising trends which are bound to create new problems oftentimes go unrecognized or simply remain undiscovered until they eventually manifest themselves in the form of a full blown emergency. A second level, Migrant Housing employee, for example, noted in passing that the number of itinerant agricultural *families* was increasing as the domestic economy continued to decline and the opportunities for stable urban employment became more dismal. Other sources simultaneously pointed out that the growers' drive towards mechanization was now creating a greater demand for "flash peak" seasonal workers; that is to say, unattached, highly mobile (and usually male) migrants who can quickly travel from one part of the state to another in order to handle and process the new strains of crops which have been developed to ripen all at the same time and be mechanically picked during a single, short period in the fields.

Assessment of the potential impact of these trends on the State's migrant labor population might answer a number of questions. Since family units travel more slowly than unattached workers, will their frequency of work and, therefore, their *real* income decline? Will there be an increased fragmentation of migrant family units? Is the seasonal work force bound to become even more unstable? And, what services will be needed to deal with this emergent problem? In this case, inability

to obtain effective estimates about the future composition and probable condition of California's rural migratory population is simply an artifact of the current lack of public and private planning for the emergent needs of migrant seasonal workers.

RURAL AND MIGRANT HEALTH

The health related materials on agricultural laborers was gathered from a variety of sources. The main contributors were California's Rural Health Department, the United Farm Workers, the University of California at Davis, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Rehabilitation Service, and several subdivisions of the State's Department of Industrial Relations. It should also be noted, however, that although this project was primarily concerned with California's rural migrant laborers, it was difficult to obtain health information on this specific category of workers; that is to say, most of the available health data failed to differentiate between migrants and other types of farm laborers (e.g. year round agricultural employees). From an organizational perspective, the information can be separated into three levels of documentation: the first describes the health needs of California's rural population, while the second level analyzes the types of injuries and diseases commonly found among agricultural laborers, and the third is largely derived from interview material concerning some of the routine events in a farm worker clinic. In the following pages, we will present these materials in a condensed form, then evaluate their reliability for research purposes.

In much of the *level one* research there is an explicit comparison between the availability of medical services in rural and urban communities. The U,S, Census definition of a rural region -- a population center of 2,500 persons or less -- was utilized by Zarate (1974:1)

to estimate that 9.1 percent of California's population, or a total of 1,817,089 persons, live in agrarian zones. Furthermore, statistics also show that 15 percent of the State's agrarian dwellers have an income of less than the poverty level as compared to 10 percent of the urban residents. In addition, the rural poor -- including the aged, the disabled, the unemployed, seasonal and migrant farmworkers -- suffer from higher rates of morbidity and mortality than the disadvantaged living in metropolitan regions (State of California, Health and Welfare Agency Task Force 1975:9). Even though the State's poverty stricken rural inhabitants are proportionately in greater need of medical care than their urban counterparts, they frequently remain ignorant or often fail to enroll in California's Medi-Cal program (Simboli 1975a; 1975b).

An insight into the extent of the disparity between urban and rural health facilities can be gained from the physician to population ratio characteristic of both areas: in rural California, the ratio is 88.2/100,000 as compared to the metropolitan counties that have a ratio of 194.5/100,000 (State of California, Health and Welfare Agency Task Force 1975:6).

Data from *level two* focuses on health care needs of a particular segment of California's rural residents: the seasonal and migrant farmworkers. During the peak season for agricultural labor it is estimated that there are 365,000 farm workers in the State (refer to Table 1). Zarate (1974) has reported that California's farm workers and their families suffer from higher rates of bodily injury and disease than the national average, while tuberculosis, other infectious diseases, and accidents of all kinds are 150 percent above the average for other populations. Moreover, Fuentes (1974) has noted that the highest occupational disease rate is shown among farm laborers (11.9 per 1,000 workers). Finally, Cortés (1974:52) has also discovered that although farm workers are more often severely disabled (both partial and total) than other

members of the domestic labor force, they are more likely to continue working than other, less severely disabled members of the national population.

> What amounts to a total disability in some occupations frequently is merely a partial disability for manual farm laborers. Payment for farm work in piece rates, instead of hourly wages, encourages the employment of the partially disabled family member of limited productivity. (Cortés 1974:50)

In terms of available facilities, current research demonstrates that farm workers systematically fail to take advantage of the services provided by Workmen's Compensation (Howitt and Moore, 1975), Migrant Rehabilitation Services (Cortés 1974), and Medi-Cal (Simboli 1975a; 1975b) primarily because they do not know about the existence of the program, or because farm workers are blocked entry due to socioeconomic, geographic, and bureaucratic barriers.

There is a portion of the farm worker population that does seek medical aid and the *Farm Workers Health Service Report* (State of California, Department of Public Health 1972) does provide descriptive statistical data on the 30,638 patients that were treated in California's rural clinics. Much of this information is summarized in Tables 1 and 2. Here we would simply like to note that females generally made use of the clinics more often than their male counterparts; overall, the female to male ration was 1.6/1.0 and, interestingly enough, between the ages of 15-35 -- the prime period of life for field labor -- there were 3.1 female patients for every single male.

In general, it can be surmised from the above information that due to the strains of agricultural work, the geographic isolation, and marginal/declassé status of farm workers, they disproportionately suffer from ill health without actively seeking the medical aid for which they are currently eligible.

The following *level three* data is largely derived from interviews and describes everyday occurences at two

California clinics that care primarily for farm workers. In light of the fact that it is impossible to cover all of the diverse and rich topics discussed during the course of these interviews, only three health related subjects will be dealt with here: (1) farm laborers and their own peculiar physical complaints, (2) the treatment of undocumented workers (i.e., "illegal aliens"), and (3) the use of folk versus Western medicine. This qualitative data appears to enrich the preceding statistical materials, and also provides a body of information not usually contained in public research reports and grant proposals (e.g. the treatment of undocumented workers). Finally, the two clinics being described will not be treated separately and, instead, will be presented as a composite picture.

California is a huge and geographically diverse state which contains nearly 70,000 square miles of rural area (State of California, Employment Development Department 1973:3) and a variety of agricultural output rivaling most nations. The State's size results in the rural clinics being separated from each other by great distances and being situated in their own unique environment. Often, each climate, terrain, type of crop, and ethnic group serving as farm laborers combine to create certain manifest maladies that are indigenous to specific geographic locales. As a consequence, the rural clinics tend to specialize in treating the diseases indigenous to the area or the ethnic group that they serve. The following examples illustrate the high incidence of diseases which are found among particular ethnic categories of farm workers. Recently, large numbers of Yemenites were recruited by the growers to work in California's fields. Unfortunately, many ere host to a parasitic worm which is transmitted via water and, as a result, the Delano clinic now specializes in treating a condition that heretofore was seen only infrequently. Because tuberculosis is such a common phenomenon among Mexican laborers, the screening test for this malady has now become a routine

part of the intake procedure practiced by many of the clinics. Lastly, clinics in areas frequented by Filipino workers have had to develop techniques for treating "Valley Fever" -- a high temperature that begins in the lungs and travels to the body joints -- since the mortality rate from the disease is 300 percent above average for this ethnic population.

An illustration of the combined effects of climate and required types of work can be found in the Salinas region where there is a high incidence of arthritis, back, and muscular problems. Young male lettuce cutters, in particular, are susceptible to back maladies.

> The lettuce cutters realize that it is between the ages of seventeen and thirty years that they are at the peak of their earning potential. So they push themselves and allow themselves to be pushed by their fellow cutters and foreman. They work in teams and are continually told to increase their pace by the crew boss. The work teams are also given "whites" (uppers) to help speed up their work and lose their awareness of pain. (personal communication)

Often the resulting back and muscular problems are so disabling that young and middle aged men of perhaps 46 years old are forced to retire. What happens to these men who have a family to support, who do not speak English, and are barely literate in their own language?

California's rural clinics also treat numerous cases of pesticide poisoning and injury. Farm workers frequently walk in with their infected eyes swollen shut, others enter with rashes that cover their entire body, and many do not seek treatment until they can no longer halt their continuous, severe vomiting. The foregoing are simply the acute effects of pesticide poisoning and doctors are now beginning to believe that the long-term, differential results of various pesticides may be even more serious (i.e. reduced reflex action and a decreased ability of the body to employ natural healing powers).

In short, the workers exposure to pesticides may not only shorten their career in the fields, but can create severe health problems that may follow them for the rest of their lives.

Since the clinics will treat anyone who walks through the door, it must be surmised that undocumented workers are among the patients who receive medical care at these facilities. The clinic personnel have come to assume that the patients who have tried to treat themselves unsuccessfully and those who have avoided seeking medical aid until their condition is exacerbated beyond the point of minor treatment are undocumented workers. Similarly, women who walk into the clinic nine months pregnant without ever having sought prenatal care are usually "aliens out of status." Although clinic care is readily available in many areas, hospitalization is unavailable unless the undocumented worker has cash in hand. In brief, the above demonstrates that undocumented workers have serious health needs that are often ignored because they live with a constant fear of deportation and lack financial resources to procure professional attention once their malady has gone beyond the point of clinic aid.

As a result of the fact that a majority of patients are either Chicanos or Mexicanos the clinic staff must come to terms with culturally determined treatment expectations that differ from those of Anglo medicine. Migrant farmworkers, for example, whose home base is in Mexicali, Mexico, often go to their own 'doctor' for what is termed the "I.V. Cure" a treatment which the clinic staff believes to be simply glucose fed intravenously. In this case, a patient who requests the "I.V. Cure" is told that this particular treatment can only be obtained in Mexico and that his present ailment will be dealt with through an alternative method. Thus, the "I.V. Cure" and all other requested treatment modalities which are considered to be potentially harmful to the patient's health

are not provided at the clinics. One staff member, however, also observed that, "We sometimes are forced to succumb to some of the patients benign but strongly held misconceptions." To illustrate, penicillin in the pill form is favored over the hypodermic injection because it is easier to administer, less costly, and equally effective. Frequently, patients insist that they be given penicillin hypodermically since they are sure that the pills are not as potent as an injection. Generally, the staff will resist yielding to the patient's belief until it appears that he will either find another doctor elsewhere or give up the attempt to find any treatment at all. The same clinic official again noted, "We will sometimes give in to the patient's demands in order to save him some expense. The doctors in private practice charge patients for an office visit each time a shot is administered."

On occasion, patients will enter the clinic and request a "massage", a traditional treatment for conditions supposedly related to the dislocation of internal organs (e.g. *bolitas* or *mollera caída*). When no other obvious symptoms are apparent, the clinic may refer these patients to a local *curandero* who has an excellent reputation for providing curative massages. In terms of mental health, a staff member reported that she was playing with the idea of having a "professional *comadre*" who would sit with clients, listen, and advise them about their problems. Overall, the rural clinics have not only had to adjust their practices to the expectations of their patients, but they have also taken some initial steps towards integrating traditional ethnic beliefs with the practice of Anglo medicine.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the lack of coordination and communication between the different clinics sometimes acts to perpetuate unsound Anglo medical practices. Specifically, the children of migrant families often suffer from having had too many immunizations (i.e.,

everytime they visit a clinic during their travels they are immunized over again) or from having had none at all, in fact, either condition is equally unhealthy. In other words, the relative isolation and lack of communication between the rural health centers, along with the geographic mobility of the migrants and their children, in particular, oftentimes fosters an uncritical applicaton of "taken for granted" Anglo medical procedures that originally emerged from within the context of a stable community life-style.

Evaluation

The health documetnation at *level one* appears to have a two-fold purpose: first, to identify California's rural population and describe the inadequacy of existing medical facilities to meet their health needs; and second, to utilize the above as supportive evidence for increasing Rural Health's budget. Throughout, the assumption is made that to achieve agrarian medical services comparable to those found in urban regions is a much sought after good. Little consideration is given to the rural residents' heavy reliance on alternative health services (e.g. folk healers, chiropractors) which may significantly differentiate rural health practices from their urban counterparts and make a simple comparison largely invalid. This omission is understandable in light of the fact that the data at *level one* is based primarily upon U.S. Census and California Department of Health figures which are very far removed from ongoing, everyday health events.

Much of the *level two* information was derived from a comparison of U.S. Census statistics with the Workmen's Compensation figures made available by California's Department of Industrial Relations. However, Howitt and Moore (1975:6) have effectively shown in their study of pesticide poisoning that there is a great discrepancy between the actual number of farm workers injured and the number of incidents reported to Workmen's Compensation (refer to

Table 3). The implications drawn from this study suggest that the actual number of pesticide injuries are not only grossly underreported, but the official figures drawn from Workmen's Compensation are inaccurate and portray a far better picture of farm workers' health than actually exists. This specific finding is further substantiated on a more universal level when one recalls the evidence that public health services are uniformly underutilized by farm laborers. For the above reasons, one can only conclude that there is very little reliable knowledge about the actual health condition of California's migrant and seasonal workers. Here one must be satisfied with vague estimates and projections, most of which indicate that the situation is much worse than what is currently reported in the official documents.

TABLE 3

HOURS LOST PER 1,000 HOURS WORKED.

Attributed to Pesticides			Statewide averages, Workman's Compensation Insurance "Doctor's First Report" 1973		All causes, Department of Industrial Health Survey, 1973.	
Howitt & Moore, 1973 Farm Worker Survey						
Confidence Level[1]			Farm Workers	P.C.O.[2] Workers	Highest Construction	Average Manufacturing
1	2	3				
1.467	2.653	5.251	.0056	16973	4.740	3.004

[1] Level 1: Definitely pesticide related.
Level 2: Probably pesticide related.
Level 3: Possibly pesticide related.

[2] P.C.O. denotes workers for Pest Control Operators

Source: Howitt and Moore, 1975, page 6.

Finally, the *level three* interview data furnished the qualitative information necessary to fully comprehend and evaluate the preceding statistical material. Since many of these interviews were provided by the clinic personnel, it is obvious that we lacked equivalent material from the farm workers themselves discussing their health care habits, describing their working conditions, and relating their feelings about the availability of medical resources throughout the countryside.

Interestingly enough, each level of data provides a unique (even if not completely accurate) perspective which attempts to portray a bit of the reality of farm worker health. Although none of the levels are directly comparable, since they draw upon different data bases, each one does complement the other and serves to illuminate the weak points in different data sources. Probably the most striking result, however, is the apparent distance between the official information purveyed in public documents and the magnitude of the everyday health problems that are part of the farm worker's lives. In addition, we also have yet to see a proposal for the future organizaton of California's rural medical system that takes into account important operating factors like the functional specialization of regional clinics, the effects of ethnic medical beliefs and practices, or the peculiar health problems (e.g. over-innoculation) created by the migratory workers' mobile life-style.

CONCLUSIONS

The goal of this report was to demonstrate that much of the currently available information on California's migratory farm workers is riddled with incomplete, contradictory, vague, unverified, and unrealistic statements and evidentiary materials. Moreover, it has been suggested that this situation is an "artifact" of the problem under study and can be traced to a certain number of fundamental sources. First, there are the conditions

fostered by the migrant subculture itself. Here we attempted to point out how the constant mobility, marginal/declassé status, and aversion of itinerant workers to the "official world" not only expose them to an ongoing process of economic exploitation and sociopolitical exclusion, but inhibits the effective collection of reliable information about their actual circumstances. Second, we have also indicated that a majority of the data obtained from public and private agencies is characteristically fragmented, narrow, and, oftentimes, highly suspect; a situation which, in part, reflects the peculiar segmentation and lack of communication between various service programs, not to mention the "existential" distance that separates many urban bureaucrats from the day-to-day realities that compose the migrant's life in the State's agricultural hinterlands. Finally, the authors were likewise impressed by the degree to which interpretations derived from available materials mirrored the present mattix of conflicting social, economic, and political groups whose own corporate interests and survival concerns have become intextricably intertwined with the existence of a seasonal labor force. In short, the state of the current data led us to conclude that it frequently provides more information about the ethos and operational weaknesses of the donor organization than reliable knowledge about the subject it professes to describe.

The above remarks simply outline some of the numerous pitfalls inherent in the effort to collect comprehensive, reliable information on California's migratory farm laborers. From a methodological perspective, they also indicate the necessity for maintaining a critical attitude towards one's informants, and emphasize the value of employing research techniques designed to estimate both the limitations and accuracy that can be expected from any particular corpus of data. During our own field research, for example, we became increasingly concerned with a close questioning of program represen-

tatives about "how," "when," "where" and "by whom" a certain body of information had been obtained; in this manner, we were often able to surmise not only the representativeness of the available statistical information, but the degree of manipulation it had undergone before reaching our hands. Similarly, a process of cross checking information via other networks proved to be an effective means by which to ascertain the validity and generalizability of materials and interpretations gathered from restricted organizational settings. As previously noted, "key informants" were instrumental in this procedure since they provided knowledge and referrals which transcended the normal limits set by institutional boundaries. In addition, it was discovered that arranging fragmented and, frequently, incomplete information into "degrees of distance" from the phenomena described (e.g. the "levels" in the rural health section) served to strengthen our analysis as well as provide an additional, comparative check on the various types of data gathered in any specific area of concern. Even though the preceding methods are, admittedly, restricted to the evaluation of certain data categories, they nevertheless exemplify the necessity of devising research techniques to overcome the "artifactual" qualities that permeate the current information on California's itinerant agricultural workers.

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MIGRANT FLOWS INTO AN URBAN - INDUSTRIAL CENTER: SOME KEY RESEARCH ISSUES*

Rodolfo Alvarez

This research note is based on an attempt to use personnel of human service organizations as key sources of information on the flow of Latino migrant workers through the inter-agency network of metropolitan Los Angeles. The research frame of mind was of necessity that of "discovery" rather than of "verification." From the moment the research agenda was established it was realized that the researchers were starting from "ground zero" -- that there were no reliable quantitative data to describe the Latino migratory worker population in Los Angeles. Standard verificational research strategies were found to be inadequate. It is hoped that our

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research may (1) stimulate attempts to identify and define the flow more precisely and (2) describe the ensuing response of various institutions. To the extent that that stimulus is effective it may be possible in future to achieve quantitative studies in the more usual format of verificational research strategies.

In the process of conducting the research, two substantive factors of importance to future researchers become evident. One is that the type of documentation (e.g. resident alien, foreign worker, etc.) held by a worker is extremely important, both in terms of the worker's psychology and in terms of his contact with human service organizations. The second is that human service organization personnel perform, in addition to their prescribed duties, a latent socializing function which helps the migrant in his attempts to adjust to and gain rightful services from the American host society. This paper will briefly discuss these two findings in the hope that a sensitivity to these factors will help researchers move towards further delineation of social characteristics and dynamics of the migrant worker population and the relationship of that population to American human service organizations.

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

This report is based primarily on lengthy exploratory interviews with thirty-five individuals

representing a broad variety of human service organizations in the Spanish-speaking community of metropolitan Los Angeles. An initial group of key informants was selected on the basis of the senior author's personal knowledge of these agencies. These individuals were encouraged during the course of the interview to make suggestions for modification of the questionnaire. The research instrument was modified further as a result of those initial set of interviews. It must be noted that the instrument had already gone through extensive revision in the researchers' attempt to identify critical issues confronting the urban Latino migrant worker in relationship to the human service agencies. Thereafter, a second set of respondents was interviewed. While most initial informants were directors of organizations, many among the second set of informants were "front line" service delivery personnel who deal with their agency's "clients" on a day-to-day basis. As our research developed and we began to conceptualize the process by which Latino urban migrant workers come into contact with human service institutions, we went back to selected informants (as many as three or four times) to expand upon exploratory discussions and in so doing to validate our perceptions of this process.

In addition to the formal interviews held with personnel of human service agencies, lengthy informal discussions were also held with about half that number

of Latino workers. While the researchers kept field notes of interviews with the former, they deliberately kept no records whatever of conversations with the latter to insure against even the most remote possibility of jeopardizing their already difficult existence. These unobtrusive conversations took place almost exclusively in Spanish and in very casual settings in the company of mutual acquaintances: where one of the researchers was, in a sense, a participant observer. While both researchers interviewed agency personnel, only the senior author held conversations with workers. However, the research process was similar in both cases. As particular perspectives emerged it was possible to have them surface naturally in subsequent discussions and compare agency personnel responses with those of workers.

Among agency respondents, "Mexican" interviewees were particularly cautious as compared to non-Mexican agency personnel. Most organizations in which our respondents were located did not include service to migrants in their official organizational objectives. These respondents were cognizant that indiscreet remarks, despite our trusted status, could potentially result in identification and deportation of persons not able to present adequate documentation to maintain their "immigrant" status in this country. Reaction to blurring of the documentary status among migratory

workers led us to make a distinction among agency personnel. (The blurring gradations in documentation will be discussed later in this paper.) Independent of whether they were of "Mexican" heritage, we were able to describe some of our respondents as rule-oriented and some as humanistically oriented. This is not intended as derogatory but, rather, as descriptive of their occupational performance. Some organizations specifically preclude service to migrants, some specifically permit it, and others have policies which are silent on the matter. With regard to immigrants, most organizations require strict adherence to the most firm levels of documentation. Rule-oriented officials appeared to interpret their principal function as preventing "shysters" from getting aid to which they were not entitled. For example, such officials were precise in asking prospective "clients" very specific questions, some of which were not strictly required by organizational policy. These queries, based on the agency interviewer's understanding of the residency requirements, might ultimately lead to disqualification for service on the basis of not having been a resident of the service area. Humanistic administrators, on the other hand, interpreted their principal function as the delivery of services to people in need. During the course of the project they were observed to be as effective and efficient in performance of their

rule-oriented counterparts. However, their questions and consequent interpretation of responses seem focused on how to find ways to fulfill a "client's" human needs rather than to see if s/he would be disqualified by some rule. Qualitative data from workers and agency personnel indicate that Latino migrant workers are sensitive to these distinctive orientations among agency personnel and, to some extent, are able to take them into account when attempting to secure needed services.

FINDINGS

Efforts to locate reliable sources of information were made difficult because of inherent fears and practical difficulties that beset the Latino population in general and the Latino migrant worker in particular. There are two principal practical issues that permeate the entire social and psychological existence of the Latino urban migratory worker: documentation and their lack of knowledge of universalistic standards generally and their own rights as workers in particular. Both of these issues are associated with the degree to which Latino workers are able to "settle" in a given locale. The more firm their documentation, the greater the likelihood of becoming settled and ceasing to be "migrants." Similarly, the more they learn about basic human rights guaranteed to citizens in this society, and about how to secure human services available to them through various agencies operated on universal-

istic criteria, the greater the likelihood of becoming settled. From the outset of this discussion, the reader is put on notice to be sensitive to the subtle and intricate ways in which "immigrant" and "migrant" status are intertwined among Latino workers as much on a legal as on a social and psychological basis. We do not propose to have the last word on these issues. We do offer a way of conceptualizing that may help further our understanding of this population.

A. Relationship of Types of Documentation to Problems of Latino Urban Migrant Workers

On a scale of degrees of firmness of documentation, the Latino urban migrant worker may be classified into roughly six categories. The most firm and secure documentation is United States citizenship by right of birth. Even so, native born U.S. citizens of Latino heritage still encounter a number of difficulties often, but not exclusively, related to their degree of cultural distinctiveness. To the extent that they stand out as "different" they are disproportionately subject to abuse by both officials and lay citizens. Even third and fourth generation U.S. citizens are vulnerable because they often lack knowledge of their full rights as citizens and do not have organizations to help ensure those rights. Many persons, undoubtedly due to poverty, are literate in neither English nor Spanish. A migratory life style shared with small bands of fellow

migrants makes oral Spanish the only medium of communication necessary. But such a life style also reifies a certain amount of cultural distinctiveness. For example, the Puerto Rican is, legally, a citizen of the United States. Yet, because he is frequently poor, he blends in with the predominantly poor population of Mexican heritage in the Los Angeles area. It is this type of cultural distinctiveness as constituted by language, constant migration and poverty, which gives Latino migrant workers (a very large portion of the Latino population) many of the characteristics of an *immigrant* group. The fact than non-Mexican workers from other hispanic countries tend to mix with and participate in the socio-cultural life of the Mexican migrant society also contributes to the distinctiveness from the mainstream American society. Thus, actual "immigrant" status may be the source of many difficulties experienced by Latino migrant workers in each of the five documentation categories to be subsequently discussed. However, to the extent that native U.S. born Latinos remain residentially concentrated and educationally disadvantaged, they, and especially migrant workers among them, will retain many of the characteristic disadvantages and difficulties associated with immigrant status.

A second and somewhat less firm category of documentation is that of the naturalized United States citizen born outside of this country. While in the

strictest sense there may be little difference in the rights and privileges to which native born and naturalized citizens are entitled, in point of practical fact there is some considerable difference in the manner in which these workers are treated in the work place, depending upon their degree of acculturation and the extent to which they are able to enforce their rights. Highly educated professional workers, for obvious reasons, are better able to secure treatment more nearly akin to what they are legally entitled. Similarly, those who become naturalized early in life and have lived in this country a long period of time are more likely to receive treatment equal to that of citizens his is probably due to their greater involvement in and access to organizations able to enforce these rights.

A third category is that of resident alien. These are non-citizens who must register annually with the federal government. They may own property and participate in most social institutions with the same privileges as citizens, but may not vote or hold public office. Their status as officially welcomed in this country may easily be revoked. Non-migrant aliens are more likely to join unions and other worker associations and thus become more integrated into our society. Following Castro's revolution, many Cubans emigrated to the United States and were granted resident alien status and/or citizenship in a program of rapid absorption.

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Many were educated and, if not rich, at least not poor. Their predominant middle class orientation along with their "official" welcome in this country makes them stand out in contrast to persons of Mexican heritage, a substantial proportion of whom have held resident alien status of much longer duration. But, probably because this latter group is predominantly poorer and less educated, they remain relatively more isolated from major institutions of this society. Psychologically, there is much greater uncertainty and insecurity among these more socio-culturally isolated resident aliens. This especially so when border patrol and immigration officials conduct their periodic "sweeps" in search of "Mexicans." Hundreds, if not thousands, are deported. Their fears are fed by abundant stories of both United States citizens and resident aliens of Mexican heritage who, perhaps because they are unable to speak English or prove their legitimate status at the moment, are "rounded up" and deported. This sense of insecurity may affect a diminishing proportion of resident aliens from Mexico, as an increasing proportion come in under new immigration regulations giving priority to visa applicants who have relatives in this country or who have skills in short supply.

A fourth category is that of documented foreign worker. Whether the worker is migrant or settled, there are various forms of documentation admitting persons into this country for the purpose of working in

specified areas for specified periods of time; for example, the well known "green card" holders. These forms of documentation appear to be more or less difficult to acquire depending on the stage of the business cycle in this country and the resultant pressures on elected and appointed public officials. In California, the vast majority of Latino workers in this category come from Mexico and generally perform unskilled manual labor. Those that come on government supervised programs usually go to rural agricultural employment with relatively assured compensation and protections while in this country, and are returned to Mexico at the completion of their sojourn. While there is no basis in principle for these programs to be restricted to agricultural work, we know of no such programs for urban industrial workers. Moreover, in the recent economic recession, such programs have been severely curtailed or have gone out of existence altogether.

A fifth category may be described as that of "inadequate documentation." This includes persons with a variety of different types of documents such as tourist visas. The inadequacy results from the fact that while they may have proper documentation for one purpose, they do not have proper documentation for the purpose of long term gainful employment in this country. The psychological pressure of being under constant threat of discovery can be great. People in this category are under psychological and social pressure not only

of discovery and deportation, but of exploitation by all manner of unscrupulous persons ranging from employers and business persons to government officials. We have been unable to find reliable evidence as to the size of this population that can be considered to be in this country "illegally"only in the narrow sense of having overstepped the limitations of their documentation to some greater or lesser extent. We have been privileged to hear numerous stories of how industrious and enterprising persons are able to earn enough money during these sojourns to be able to establish connections with employers who are prepared to sponsor them as persons with critically valuable skills and/or to marry U.S. citizens, either or both resulting in securing a high priority in subsequent application for a permanent visa.

A sixth and final category consists of those persons who hold no official documentation whatsoever for their residence in this country. This is perhaps the population of workers, whether migrant or settled, that is most psychologically vulnerable to the constant threat of detection and deportation. As in the case of the fifth category, there is no point even to mention the various estimates of population size because such speculations can only be totally unreliable. It is possible to speculate that since they are in this country without any form of documentation, it may be due to lack of education and/or financial resources with which

to obtain even a temporary visa. Thus, both due to the lack of documentation and the reasons for it, this population becomes the most easily and frequently exploited We have heard numerous stories of employers whose places of business are conveniently "raided" by immigration officials just prior to pay-day, thus exposing the undocumented worker to deportation without even the low wages to which s/he is entitled for work performed. Partly due to the temporary nature of the employment that undocumented workers are able to secure, and partly out of fear of detection and deportation, the most usual employment pattern is that of migration from one job and locale to another. Many undocumented workers indicate they merely wish to make enough money to return to their country of origin with the ability to buy a plot of land or make some other desirable investment. However, many, especially those with multiple long work sojourns in this country, indicate that given the opportunity they would officially emigrate. It is sociologically possible, if not legally so, to view a large proportion of the undocumented worker population as permanent immigrants who happen to live in this country with the constant threat of deportation.

Problems of documentation obviously present the migrants with a number of structural and psychological troubles. In addition, documentation and its consequences have implications for those of us trying to tap human service agencies for data on migrants. One can

reasonably expect that migrants with documentation problems are .ess likely to seek assistance from human service organizations for fear of being detected. This means that any data the researcher obtains will most likely be biased towards migrants with more adequate documentation.

B. The Agency Official as Socialization Agent

Over and above their obvious role in performing specific public service, human service organizations perform a very valuable, latent function for migrant workers. They provide a relatively "safe" context within which a continuing series of different types of interpersonal exchanges take place, resulting in socialization of the Latino migrant worker to the universalistic rules and value perspectives of modern urban industrial society. These organizations operate by specified rules which are in principle applied equally to the universe of "clients" who fulfill specified conditions. Special personal favors normally do not play a major generalizable role in rendering services to clients. Regardless of the degree of documentation a migrant worker might have, once he is defined as an "eligible client," services are rendered according to what he is entitled to by the rules. (The more contact a person has with an agency and the more frequently he associates with persons who have received services from an agency, the more precisely he can ascertain the nature and type of service available.) In the case of

inadequately and undocumented migrant workers, this may make the difference as to whether or not they settle in a given locale with the objective of ultimately securing firm documentation. A migrant lifestyle is frequently inseparable from the fear of discovery and deportation. For all documentation categories, the fear of exploitation is reduced when treated according to general rules applicable to all. Increasing knowledge of these universalistic standards facilitates participation in other social institutions and decreases dependency on personal relationships with any sort of political or economic boss. What is being suggested here is that, in effect, organizations cultivate and educate constituencies which call upon them for assistance. But also, knowing how to relate to an agency is a skill that is transferable to relationships with organizations in general. Knowledge of workers' own rights goes hand in glove with the degree of participation in and access to organizations that, directly or indirectly, can help enforce those rights. The psychological predisposition to learn about and operate under the guidance of universalistic norms requires that the individual have rights enforceable by law. Increasing knowledge of such rights makes resident alien status and citizenship all the more desireable for those whose documentation is insecure and whose original primary motive in coming to this country was simply the prospect of earning more money than they would have in their country of origin. The undocumented

or improperly documented person would not have full recourse to the law for most problems. Solutions to problems of existence experienced by inadequately or undocumented workers in modern highly organized rule-oriented society most frequently depends upon attachment to a "political" or "economic" boss for favors and imagined, if not real, protection. This very attachment is an impediment to the individual's obtaining personal knowledge of available employment opportunities and human services that would increase the capacity for self-reliance. Dependence on a "boss" does have the advantage of increasing predictability in one's life. It is the measure of predictability that makes the individual's life tolerable. Even a highly exploitative relationship provides some security in that allowing oneself to be exploited prevents one from being denounced and deported. The seemingly everlasting hope is that time is on the migrant's side. The longer one can maintain a relationship to protectors, service agencies, and society in general, the more knowldege one gains on how to keep the relationship going, and the greater the probability of getting that "lucky break" throught which secure documentation will be obtained in the case of "immigrants," or, in the case of citizen migrant workers, greater economic security.

Over and again we see emerging from our field experiences with our respondents bits and pieces of insights and descriptions which when fitted together

lead us to conceive of both rule-oriented as well as humanistic officials as socialization agents that play an important role in acculturating Latino migrants to life in the city. In the sense that they help the migrant acquire generalizable knowledge and normative perspective by which they can help themselves, these agency officials are "leaders" in the best sense. We distinguish a "leader" from both a "patron" and from a political "boss" in that these latter exercise non-ideological power and influence by virtue of having constituencies that are personally dependent upon them for social and material favors. Their constituencies are not so much loyal followers as they are material dependents, as may be revealed by frequent and severe measures taken against those who remain materially subservient and punish those who seek better material reward elsewhere. As Rogler (1974) points out, the Puerto Rican political boss in the eastern city of Maplewood, as much as the classic Mexican-American patron in Mountain Town, Colorado, both lose their capacity to hold their constituencies when they lose the economic base from which to reward their dependent legions. The modern leader, on the other hand, provides perspectives and ideas whereby constituents can independently seek their own betterment, either to make successful claims for benefits universalistically available to all who meet required conditions under given rules and laws, or to organize themselves for the

purpose of creating the rules under which they would qualify for rewards society can bestow. Thus, constituents are not in any kind of personal bondage to a leader. On the contrary, a diffuse but long term sense of loyalty can develop since a leader can always be credited with having exposed the person to the ideas that started that person on the road to self-reliance and self-sufficiency. Moreover, a constituency may have multiple leaders from which to draw ideas with which to deal with a variety of issues and tasks. The patron and the boss tend to have their constituents almost totally beholden to them for everything. The classical role of the patron was based on the land tenure system of the colonial period and, of course, has long since passed from the modern scene. Rogler's comparative analogy of that system to that of the ethnic political boss is based on the notion that control of political networks allows for virtual control of all material benefits available to a Latino migrant population from public organizations in the city of Maplewood. Unlike Maplewood, the city of Los Angeles is one of the largest and most modern in the world. It is unlikely that only one ethnic political boss ever emerged among the Latino migrant population of Los Angeles. Although there are several interesting historical examples analogous to that of the ethnic political boss described by Rogler (1974), these examples are of a minor scale and, moreover, were very small enclaves in various parts of the

city to the extent that they existed. What we have observed is a phenomenon more or less half way between the completely universalistic set of secondary relationships normally thought to characterize bureaucratic organization on the one hand, and on the other, the almost purely particularistic set of personal relationships that normally characterize political machines and bossism.

The human service organization administrator and front line service deliverer are in a sense unsung heroes teaching migrants how to survive in the city. Both rule oriented and humanistically oriented personnel in these organizations serve the unintended function of providing migrants with the techniques, information, and values by which they can become relatively independent and self-sufficient in securing assistance in all of the many forms in which it is made available by local, state and federal institutions in our society. Interpersonal exchanges with rule-oriented personnel in service organizations adversely affect the migrant, who either by reason of inadequate documentation or by reason of insufficient length of residence in the city is denied the assistance needed to care for self and family. As often as not, this occurs in a moment of crisis for the family. A cautiousness against volunteering any but the most directly relevant information required by the situation is learned. Through this sort of trial and error migrants increase their knowledge of rules and conditions

under which eligibility for assistance is determined. Interpersonal exchanges with humanistically oriented personnel of organizations may be said to reward the migrant for knowledge of various forms of assistance available, including the specific conditions required for any given service, and for self-confident limited requests for specific services. Limited statements of information on points that qualify an individual for a given service, presented in a self-confident manner that focuses on the deep human need under consideration, may lead officials away from general requests for information that might ultimately disqualify a "client." As the "rules of the game" are learned, they are transmitted by word of mouth throughout the migrant worker community. Family relations are, of course, excellent conduits of survival information. Within the extended Latino family, one may find both citizens and non-citizens with all levels of documentation previously discussed. As in the case of Irish and Italian immigrants to the east coast of the country in other eras, the close knit Latino family plays an important part in helping the Latino urban migrant worker to make appropriate contacts with officials in human service agencies who are known to be sympathetic. The family is frequently instrumental in helping the migrant find a home, job, transportation, doctor, school for the children, and legal aid. Conversations with migrants and agency officials confirm observations that the cultural heri-

tage of Latin people generally, and Mexicans in particular, is one of intensive social participation inside the extended family structure (Almond and Verba, 1963, chapter 10; Scott, 1959, 93-35). However, if social science is to avoid romantic notions about the Latino family, research will have to specify how it differs from the role of the traditional Irish or Italian family in the immigrant experiences of those ethnic groups. Our point here is that it serves a major communications function for the Latino urban migrant. Among the most important items of information that the extended family network may carry is when and how to deal with which officials in particular agencies about particular services in order to survive in the city as self-sufficient individuals that are not personally beholden to any "boss" or "patron." Rather, both rule-oriented and humanistically oriented agency officials serve the role of teachers through whom the migrant learns increasing amounts of knowledge about how to survive in the city and acquires the universalistic values by which to employ this knowledge (Gottfried, 1968; 248-52).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

There is every reason to believe that the Latino community in this country is increasing its utilization of human service organizations. This is so despite the considerable evidence that these services are underutilized by Latinos, as compared to almost every other population on which data are available. Underutilization

may be partly due to cultural values which stress self reliance and family solutions to problems. It may also be due in part to an aversion to, if not a fear of, any kind of formal or official organization. Stories abound of how interaction with officials ultimately leads to difficulties with immigration authorities, even for persons who are U.S. citizens or resident aliens. Nevertheless, there is evidence that Latino "clients" do use services provided by organizations in which they perceive themselves to be welcomed, as evidenced by the existence of Latinos in the employ of such organizations. The last decade has been marked by the increase of organizations directed and staffed by Latino personnel at all levels. Thus, emerging evidence is that the Latino population is increasingly utilizing these services.

As utilization of services by the Latino population increases, it should be increasingly possible to design research projects on which to make quantitative estimates of the size of the migrant worker population in this metropolitan area. No doubt problems will continue to plague researchers, especially with regard to estimates of persons with less than the most firm levels of documentation. However, federal immigration policies may be significantly altered in the near future, thus reducing if not eliminating the problem of documentation. At that point, it will be easier to collect data on migrant and settled workers. Another possible future development is that human service organizations may be

permitted some kind of immunity whereby they might offer services to all who otherwise qualify without regard to their documentation status. In any case, we believe that human service organizations provide a major potential source for research on migrant workers. It is hoped that this paper will help sensitize researchers to some of the important factors which need to be kept in mind when doing this type of research.

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This bibliography is only suggestive of the kinds of books, journals, and articles that are available to the researcher. The list should be employed as a tool for developing an orientation to the subject preliminary to the planning and conducting of the data gathering portion of the study. Due to the recent emergence of interest in the phenomenon of the urban migrant, the present library information retrieval system is not useful. Researchers must go through existing works in order to pull out small sections relevant to the topic of urban migrants. Therefore, researchers should concentrate their efforts on going through current (post-1969) reference works such as: The Sociological, Psychological, and World Agricultural Economic and Sociological Abstracts. A few suggested headings under which to check the presence of relevant topics are: Urban Studies, Urban Services, Spanish, Mexican, Occupation and Laborer.

Future researchers are advised to contact the Employment Development Department of the State of California, formerly the Rural Manpower Service/Farm Labor Office. Regions IV and V of this agency may be helpful as an additional source of bibliographic material, since they have initiated a descriptive study on migrants in the Greater Los Angeles area which will be completed in 1976.

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INTRODUCTION: REFUGEES

Few papers in the social sciences tend to focus on problems of data gathering. It is, of course, more exciting to discuss findings rather than research problems. Yet ideas and experiences of others at this level can be greatly beneficial to researchers who may find themselves someday in a similar research situation. The benefits can be particularly great when the population under examination is in some way especially "distinctive." This is the case with the two research notes which follow. Both papers deal with the same distinctive population -- the Indo-Chinese refugees who were initiated into American life at Camp Pendleton, California.

This particular population is interesting both because of its sociological character as a group of "refugees" and because of the temporary nature of their community at Camp Pendleton. As with all temporary communities, Camp Pendleton is of interest to students of social organization. How are formal and informal organizational structures set up? How effectively do they operate? How do the processes involved differ from those which take place in communities of a more permanent nature? Also, this community puts great pressure on researchers -- if data are not gathered quickly, they will be lost forever.

As refugees, the population under examination differs from other "immigrant" groups in several ways. Such people suffer emotional experiences of a particularly difficult kind because of the nature of their separation from their homeland. Since they entered this country together, in large numbers, they can be expected to share certain difficulties, anxieties and illnesses which are derived from their common situation. Yet they may receive a good measure of emotional support from fellow refugees who were all, in an important way, "in the same boat." Also, the fact that so many entered at once created tremendous chal-

lenges for those in the United States who had the task of helping them adjust to American life. Out of these challenges came advantages for the refugees in the form of certain types of legal and humanitarian aid. At the same time, problems such as finding jobs and homes were still very difficult to solve. Moreover, the very fact that various types of aid were offered to the refugees forced them to attempt to adjust very quickly to dealing with a bureaucracy which was foreign and alien to some of them -- in particular, those who came from lower class backgrounds. This made their cultural adjustment even more difficult.

For the researcher, the refugees offer an opportunity to investigate a vast array of interesting and important questions. What problems of adjustment do the refugees encounter in camp? How are they handled, both by the refugees and by government and private agency officals? Can these problems help us anticipate and ameliorate problems the refugees will face after leaving the camp? What kinds of social structures emerge and are used by the refugees to help them cope with their new life? Do ethnic and class boundaries carry over from their homeland to the United States?

These are some of the questions which led these researchers into collecting data on this transitory population. Joyce Justus and Stanley Wiseman come from different social and academic backgrounds and perspectives. Justus is an anthropologist; Wiseman a political scientist. Their approaches and their methods, therefore, differ. Yet, due to the fact that both were trying to gather data from the same population, many of the research problems they faced were the same. The papers show how the researchers attempted to handle these research problems, giving us an interesting look at the workings of social scientific research, and a start towards an understanding of the initial period of life for the Indochinese refugees in this country.

While the insights offered by these research notes are of value in themselves, still greater value should come

from use of the data during follow-up studies of the refugees. The work of these researchers will allow longitudinal studies of refugees to be done -- studies which should tell us much about the adjustment of Indochinese refugees to American life, as well as of the long-range success or failure of United States resettlement policies.

PROCESSING INDOCHINESE REFUGEES*

Joyce Bennett Justus

INTRODUCTION

For scholars concerned with the absorption of immigrants there is at least one problem which remains unresolved. Attempts at understanding the absorption process have been greatly hampered by inadequate data on the period immediately after the immigrants' arrival in the host country. Such data as is available is collected from immigrants at a much later time, when many of the situations initially encountered have either been forgotten or redefined in light of new experiences or understandings. Attempts to retrieve data from other sources (e.g. newspaper accounts of the time) are also hampered by the fact that, often, only what was regarded by the host society as important, sensational or significant was recorded. This may have differed considerably from the immigrants' definitions of the situation. Researchers have rarely been participant observers to record the experiences of a group during the earliest phase of contact with the host society.

For scholars concerned with problems of ethnicity and ethnic identity, there has been another set of problems which in many instances are complementary to those alluded to in the preceding paragraph. There has been considerable agreement that a common sense of a need to survive, to maintain common beliefs and values, has been of great importance in uniting persons into self-defining

* Professor Justus wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Mrs. C. Sandra Murray, graduate student in Anthropology, University of California, San Diego

groups. The situation is compounded when the ethnic group is also an immigrant minority. As immigrants, there is the problem of adjusting to a new society, of learning the beliefs, values, and new language. As ethnic, there is the felt need to preserve ethnic identity, or the sense of peoplehood, so to speak. Yet, host societies are concerned to prevent the creation and maintenance of these separate groups, and to keep them from becoming localized or confined to any one area by encouraging distribution of the immigrant groups throughout the society as much as possible. Thus, for the researcher attempting to understand the problems of ethnicity and ethnic group boundary maintenance, there is the concern to establish when and under what cirucmstances a group decides to remain separate from the host society or, conversely, what situations are likely to contribute to the group decision to de-emphasize the significance of boundaries among other groups with which they are in contact.

Our research on Indochinese refugees is guided by concern with both sorts of problems outlined above. On the one hand, we are attempting to understand the initial experience of Indochinese refugees in the United States. On the other hand since this is a situation of forced migration, and since the United States government had the desire and the ability to distribute the refugees throughout the 50 states (at least initially), the question of ethnic boundary maintenance is of significance. One of our concerns was to provide information on the refugees so as to be able, perhaps, to contribute to some understanding of the scope of potential problems and possible sources of stress (emotional, physical or otherwise) which may arise in later years. These concerns led us to determine what types of data were being collected by the various agencies operating at the Camp, and to design our research so as to ensure that it would yield data which would be complementary to data available from other sources. We considered this to be a good strategy because it would have

been foolish if not impossible to duplicate all of the various quantitative data being collected; this would not have been the best use of the resources we had at our disposal.

METHODOLOGY

The choice of research problem not only guides the choice of data, but also methods of collection and research strategies. We opted for limited descriptive surveys of the entire process in order to provide a background for the other data with which we were concerned. Our main efforts centered around collection of qualitative data. Because the research problem, as we defined it, called for an understanding of interactive situations, patterns evolving therefrom, and their effects on the processing of refugees, our focus was on interpersonal interaction.

As the research progressed, varieties of interactive styles, frequencies, and racial and ethnic distinctions could be discerned. This information will prove to be invaluable for any research which has as its goal the understanding of the absorption process, or the problems encountered by individuals, families, or other groups as they attempt to cope with day to day living in this country.

We rejected survey research as impracticable. Only limited access to refugees was accorded to us. Some of the intergroup conflicts and rivalries were such that sampling problems involved with survey research would have been horrendous for some of the following reasons:

1. Necessity of doing stratified cluster sampling to control for social class, ethnicity and country of origin.
2. Enormous language problems. With only the better educated speaking English or French, social class distinctions were such that we were never quite sure of the accuracy with which upper class or

or middle class refugees could be relied upon to convey accurately information received from fisherfolk or rural poor.

3. Concern with confidentiality was so pervasive that it took a considerable amount of time to gain access to and the confidence of refugees in order to be able to engage them in conversation.
4. Restrictions on entering living areas prevented interaction with refugees at those times when they would be most likely willing to cooperate with interviewers (when the offices were closed and there was nothing for the refugees to do but sit around and wait for the next day when the offices would again begin the task of trying to match refugee to sponsor, to provide health care, and in a few cases, employment counseling).

Background information on agencies was collected to ascertain their scope and function, relative size, staffing, differences in approach, information prepared for dissemination to refugees, governmental agencies and the public at large, goals and timetables for processing and plans for continued interaction with refugees beyond the closing date of the camp. This data differed slightly from the type that was received in relation to processing of refugees *per se*.

We included the agencies' perceptions of the processing, refugees' perceptions, our observations on what was going on, the differences in approaches -- individual *versus* group sponsorship, single persons *versus* family sponsorships, etc.

The last type of data to be collected and focused on was the preparation of the refugees for the outside world (i.e., language training, survival skills, employment preparation, effects of immigrant status, licensing, apprenticeship, medical care, public assistance, and education)

DESCRIPTIVE SURVEYS

In order to understand the entire processing of the refugees, limited descriptive surveys were undertaken in some 25 agencies utilizing interview schedules with mainly open-ended questions. Questions centered around the agency, its roles and functions, problems encountered and attempts at solutions. Also included was information on agency staff (numbers, qualifications, previous experience). We collected a history of each agency's operations at the camp, initial objectives and procedures, subsequent changes, and the reasons for making the changes. We also were interested in discovering the agencies' views as to their responsibilities to the U.S. government on behalf of the refugees and current plans for continued assistance to the refugees after placement. Wherever possible, we administered the schedules to more than one member of the agency staff. This proved to be invaluable since there was frequent turnover in senior staff, and it was often necessary to interview several members of the staff before one could obtain any information on problems that had been encountered or attempts at resolution.

Descriptive survey research has been regarded as eminently suitable for the study of an area of social life where one's interest is in the quantity and distribution of the social variables. In many areas it was the most appropriate and only method for obtaining the information we required. In addition to voluntary agencies, we conducted interviews with members of the San Diego Refugee Coalition, the American Red Cross, members of the staff of various agencies within the Inter-Agency task force, and the Government of Canada, using limited instruments and depth interviews.

DEPTH INTERVIEWS

A research project of this nature would be of limited use without demonstrating an understanding of the

refugees' definitions of their situation and the manner in which they coped with physical discomfort, their sense of uncertainty about the future, status reversal, and loss of country and loved ones. We know of no other way for getting at such information than to ask the respondents just how they feel about it. Given what we anticipated would be the complexity of the refugees' feelings about leaving Vietnam and their anxiety about entering into American society, we opted for depth interviews with as many refugees as time and language skills would permit. We attempted to contact the refugees at different points in the camp to maximize the potential for varied information.

The variation among the agencies revealed itself to us when we were in the process of carrying out our descriptive surveys. As a result, two agencies (one secular, one religious; one working exclusively with families, one working with everyone who came through its doors; one working toward placement with groups and in communities, the other involved with placing refugee families with individual sponsors) were selected and depth interviews carried out with senior staff members. Depth interviews were also carried out with the Interagency Task Force staff members responsible for the development and preparation of the Camp newspaper, the head of the data center, and the staff member with responsibilities for the unaccompanied minors program.

Interviews occupied a major portion of our time at the camp. We considered this to be a most important feature of our research. It deepened our understanding of the complexities of the situation, the differences in approach to the refugees by the agencies, and the differing perceptions of the refugees as to what was involved in the entire resettlement process. It was here that we picked up information as to the refugees' ambivalence about having to leave Vietnam, as well as their anxiety for friends and relatives left behind. We also interviewed four volunteers teaching in the ESL (English as a Second Language) classes, three U.S. Marine Corps commandants, one psychiatrist

working with unaccompanied minors, and one Buddhist monk. This sundry group provided us with another aspect of the resettlement process. In this regard, the Marine officers were invaluable. All three had been stationed in Southeast Asia, one spoke some Vietnamese, two were married to Vietnamese, and all expressed much concern for the refugees and the problems they thought that would be encountered on leaving camp. The Buddhist monk, a graduate of the California State University system, was engaged in the adult TESL classes and provided us with much information on language problems, the fears the Vietnamese had about being isolated in areas without other Vietnamese speakers, and what he perceived to be the underlying reasons for their unwillingness to accept sponsors and leave the camp. He proved to be a most diligent and reliable interpreter, and conveyed to us a feeling for the significance of social class and rural/urban dimensions in the resettlement process.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

A major concern of participant observation is the understanding of the frame of reference of the group that is being studied. We were concerned with understanding the frame of reference of the refugees and the agencies involved in placing them. This has traditionally required that the researcher have access to a group long enough to understand total culture or way of life. Although the camp situation did not provide the ideal situation for this type of research, we were able to utilize these techniques profitably and in situations where we felt that they were the most appropriate methods available to social scientists. For example, one aspect of the processing which required a somewhat complete understanding of the "camp culture" was the matching. We were interested in understanding how the agency personnel went about choosing a potential sponsor, how sponsor and refugee were "matched" and what was involved in the refugee's accepting or rejecting a potential sponsor.

We also came to recognize that the very process by which a refugee decided to affiliate with one agency rather than another, or decided to change registration from one agency to another, was also of paramount importance.

In an attempt to collect data of the type that would help us understand and explain the matching process, we located ourselves with two agencies utilizing different approaches to the resettlement problem. For the entire period of our research, we involved ourselves in an ongoing basis with the day to day functions of these agencies. We assisted in writing up interviews, talking with sponsors, transporting refugees and potential sponsors from one point to another, and in the social interaction among agency and refugee staff.

We also spent some time with two other agencies which were smaller than the other two selected for intensive study. However, they fell into the same broad divisions: secular/religious, group sponsorship of families to community organizations/arranging sponsors for anyone who requested its services. Here our concerns were to see whether size was an important factor in the type of approach and the quality of the agency/refugee interaction.

CASE STUDY

The case study approach was utilized with three Vietnamese women and two Vietnamese men. The case studies included depth interviews, participant observation, projective tests, and content analyses of written material (letters written to one member of the research team after the refugees had been placed). This phase of the research is continuing and still yields valuable information as to the successes and failures of the processing, the problems of adjustment, the growing feelings of isolation, and in general the changing perceptions the refugees have of Americans and American society.

Our main interest here was to create a pool of data on the absorption process. Since few refugees were

settled in the San Diego region initially, we were forced to maintain contact by telephone and by letter. However, since the onset of the winter there has been a heavy influx of refugees into the Southern California area, and we have included in our sample some persons with whom we had contact previously and who are now residing in the San Diego area.

THE REFUGEES

Appriximately 68% of the refugees are classified as Vietnamese. However, even within this group there are several sub-groupings which are significant for an understanding of the scope of the problem. Vietnamese divide themselves up into several groups: people from the Delta (the fishermen), people from Saigon (the bulk of the population), and people from the countryside. They further divide themselves along religious lines, mainly Buddhist or Catholic. The long period of American occupation produced another category of persons who assumed great significance in the camp; these were persons employed by the American government. Finally, there were military personnel.

The largest segment of the refugee population is comprised of nuclear families with upwards of four children. The next largest can be classified as truncated families, mainly mothers and daughters. Vietnamese employees of the U.S. government and their families received preferential treatment and were airlifted with members of their families. Oftentimes one parent chose to remain in Vietnam, sending the remaining spouse and daughters. Most of these older women (and a few men also) spoke little English. Because their daughters (or in a few cases sons) were employees of the State Department, many of them were airlifted along with their former American supervisors and resumed work at the camp almost immediately upon arrival. The aged parents of the English-speaking Vietnamese were the most isolated. Their daughters were often the first to leave

camp, returning daily to work for one or another of the agencies, leaving their mothers alone in the apartment without any other Vietnamese person with whom to interact. Few large extended families were present in camp at any time. In most instances parts of the family were left behind, and in some the actual whereabouts of the family were unknown.

Few male refugees had not been in the military, whether as combat troops, as helicopter pilots, or as intelligence personnel. Indeed during the months of July and August, the largest "skilled" employment category was that of "helicopter pilot." Most males were very young and unskilled. Less than 10% were recorded as having some skill in addition to being a soldier. Some were high ranking officers, accustomed to giving orders and anticipating that they would be obeyed. Most of the single persons without any relatives whatsoever were males, able to escape only because of their positions in the Navy or the Air Force.

The next largest group were Cambodians. Some 5,000 Cambodians were processed through Camp Pendleton. Few Cambodian families were extended: many were truncated. Many in the camp had parents, wives and children left behind. Most were high-ranking officials of the Cambodian army, or lower ranking members of the Cambodian forces. A few were civilian employees of the Mekong Delta Authority.

There were also an estimated 4,000 Chinese, Chinese/Vietnamese, and Chinese/Cambodian refugees. Many of these were involved in trading. Some were outside Vietnam or Cambodia at the fall of these countries and were unable to return.

One of the human consequences of the airlifts of persons out of Saigon is the category of persons now known as unaccompanied minors, persons under 18 years of age who arrived in the United States or were found among the camp population without close kin. By the end of the period there were some 225 unaccompanied minors with ages ranging

from 18 months to 17 years. Reports are that immediately preceding the fall of Saigon and in the general panic that ensued, persons sent children off to the United States in the hopes that this would give them a far better opportunity than if they remained in Saigon under the North Vietnam regime.

In summary, the refugees were from many countries, of both sexes, with ages ranging from a few days to mid-seventies; were Catholics, Buddhist or Protestant (a small minority); were military or civilian and spoke English, French, Cantonese, Khmer or Vietnamese. Few had no exposure to Americans. Many had been employees of the U.S. government (Department of Defense, Department of State, USAID) and for as long as ten years. The bulk were urban, middle and upper class. Many reported that their families had lived in the North and fled to Saigon after the establishment of the Communists in the North. Among the older persons and fisherfolk interviewed, there was little conception of the permanence of the move, as many of them spoke of returning to Vietnam after things quieted down, and even invited the researchers to come and visit them there.

REFUGEE PERCEPTIONS OF PROCESSING

When questioning refugees about their perceptions of the processing, many were unclear about the stages and what they meant. Only the very well-educated, good English speakers and the refugees with experience and knowledge of bureaucracies could describe the stages well. Where refugees were well-educated and could speak some English but had little experience with bureaucracies, the procedural experience did not seem to be integrated in such a way that it could be expressed or articulated, except in the briefest manner. Thus, many refugees were unclear about the various distinctions in function of some of the organizations -- especially I.N.S. and H.E.W. -- and it was only

if they had more than usual interaction with the American institutions (e.g., if they were volunteers, had special problems, or were very interested) that they could even begin to form a picture of how the institutions related to each other.

Among most refugees with whom we spoke, the early experiences in camp were often hazy in their memories, or else recalled out of the sequence in which they could possibly have occurred. Some stages were left out altogether. The day of the registration with the Voluntary Agency was also often vague, although, often without being asked, most refugees easily recalled the day on which they visited the I.N.S. office. The question usually asked was, "Tell me what you did on your first days in camp. Where did you go? Whom did you see?" The topics remembered most frequently were arriving at Camp 8, receiving warm jackets, being taken to their tents, getting bed linen and toiletries, going to I.N.S., going for the health check-up, and going to register at the Voluntary Agency. When asked about "What have you been doing in camp?" the replies in rough order were: 1) waiting for a sponsor, 2) standing in the chow-line, 3) listening for the loudspeaker, (washing and child-caring for women), 4) talking to people, 5) taking English classes, 6) visiting friends, and 7) going to the library (sewing center with most women). None of the refugees included checking with the agencies, going to the various recreational activities, going to the Red Cross to try to arrange reunification, or to other institutions for purposes of further migration. It was only after more questions that people could list some of the other things that they did. While they were willing to talk about "when will a sponsor come," "I'm frustrated/worried/tired of waiting," and other such sponsor-related topics, they did not list their activities in pursuit of a sponsor.

Although most refugees registered with a Voluntary Agency during their first few days in camp, many did not.

Those who went promptly were the better educated people and those who could speak or understand at least some English. It seems that the refugees who were tardy in going or just did not go were among the farmer and fishermen groups and the unskilled. According to the more acculturated refugees, it was because "The fishermen are not well educated . . . they are having a better life here, and are enjoying being here. They have a place to stay, and enough to eat, and no work. They couldn't want anything more!"

And another view: "They don't speak any English. It is going to be hard for them to adapt. Why would they want to leave camp? They are afraid to go out to find a sponsor."

And another more cynical prediction: "There are 40,000 fishermen now. The Americans don't want them. They just bought their way in. They got on junks and sailed out, so what could the Americans do? Those people don't want anything. I think that the government will build a reservation for them somewhere. Maybe they can even make a profit -- a Vietnamese village -- it could be a tourist resort!"

However, for most refugees, perceptions regarding the processing seemed to become more crystallized after their first visit to the Voluntary Agency and after some adjustment to their new living conditions was made. Most refugees were unclear about what the processing *meant*. When asked why they went to one agency or failed to go to another, responses were varied. During the course of the interviews, attempts were made to discover the refugees' understandings about their status as "parolees," and to include perceptions of any limitations this may have had on their functioning and the responsibilities of the sponsors to them.

On this matter, there was considerable confusion among the refugees. None of the refugees interviewed in depth understood the differences between their status and that of any other immigrant. Nor did they understand

what it would take for them to become United States citizens. The very act of leaving Indochina suggested that they were rejecting their citizenship of birth, yet many of the refugees interviewed both formally and informally were not at all clear on this and spoke of returning when things got quiet again. Initial fears arose when the first batch of refugees to request repatriation were experiencing difficulty in making arrangements. Many considered themselves "American" and spoke of the time when they could "vote for the President."

The perceptions about sponsorship were far more significant for the absorption process. Many refugees spoke of sponsors as if they were to be surrogate parents, to instruct them as to what behavior was appropriate, and to take care of all their needs. All assumed that their total needs would be met by the sponsors until they could care for themselves. Sponsors were spoken of in idealistic terms: as kind, good persons who would help the refugee get established and continue to be advisory and friend for an indefinite period. Sponsors were considered to be rich, influential, able to find them jobs and willing to help the Indochinese in their plight. Nor did the voluntary agencies aid much in this regard. Staff members would describe sponsors in glowing terms, often in an attempt to encourage the refugee to accept the sponsorship. Thus both refugee and staff members had perceptions about the sponsors which were mutually reinforcing but really erroneous. The refugees did this because it became a means for reducing anxiety; the staff members because they assumed, sometimes rightly, that a person who wanted to become a sponsor did so for altruistic reasons.

These unrealistic assumptions on the parts of both the staff and the refugees were reinforced by the refugees' desire to resume a normal life. Sometimes the refugee would inflate his job category in the hope that this would improve chances of sponsorship without realizing that this would have deleterious effects on any attempt to place him in employment. Several sponsors were interested in the

employability of the refugees from the outset. However, since the refugee did not give accurage information about skills and previous training and employment, there was considerable difficulty in matching refugee to job. Furthermore, the refugee at times failed to understand what the job title meant, and on occasion we witnessed a refugee being matched to an employer when the refugee had no skills to perform a particular job.

What effects do these perceptions have on adjustment? We contend that many problems which emanated *after* the refugee was sponsored out could have been averted if the refugee had had more realistic perceptions of the sponsorship. More problems could have been minimized if the sponsors had a better idea of the problems involved: the length of time that they would have to be responsible for their particular refugee, cultural differences, language problems, and employability. Many times a refugee was placed in a position which was unsuitable, with sponsors who, though well-meaning, did not understand the refugee's expectations. Questions of employment availability were pursued only superficially, and problems with language were underestimated. The general feeling was one of guarded optimism: the refugee would succeed provided he was willing to work.

CLASS AND ROLE DISTINCTIONS

In the discussions of the methods utilized, I introduced the topic of social class. Initial observations suggested that the Indochinese refugees represented a broad spectrum of society. We know that several were high ranking military officers. We also were informed that many had been employed by the United States government for several years and because of the relatively higher salaries they had received, they were regarded as generally better off than other Indochinese in similar positions.

Beyond this initial information received from our

observations or interviews with agency personnel, we were interested in understanding how social class and role distinctions would affect the functioning of the camp and even the absorption process. Two measures were employed. We observed and recorded the amount of jewelry the refugees were wearing, the amount of cash they spent on a daily basis, and the number of trips they made to the gold exchanges. We also asked the refugees to tell us about their homes in Indochina. From this information it was easy to construct a socio-economic scale (in some cases this was aided by photographs).

Class distinctions were significant in every aspect of camp life. Refugees who were better off financially rarely ate at the chowline. When they did they augmented the food with fresh fruit obtained from the staff cafeteria. They also asked staff members to buy various items of clothing for them. For the most part they also spoke English and/or French and as a result were more easily sponsored out. Many working as interpreters were highly visible to potential sponsors. Those with the most money and the highest skills (professionals) were allowed out without formal sponsorship. At least three persons (none of whom would agree to a formal interview) are residing in the region, living in homes they purchased after leaving camp, and have resumed a more or less normal existence.

The rural poor -- farmers and fisherfolk -- were easily identified by their dress, by their inability to understand English, and by their general hesitancy in dealing with the agencies. Problems of communication were compounded since within this group were persons who spoke different languages or different dialects of the same language. They were despised by numbers of the middle and upper class refugee population who described them as not wanting to leave the camps, as enjoying the camp situation, since it was reported, this camp was a far superior experience to the one to which farmer and fisherfolk were accustomed. Often cited was the fact that everything was

provided; they never had to work for anything. It was even suggested that they should not have been evacuated since, it was argued, no harm would come to them under any regime! Thus, the people who were potentially the most difficult to place were further hampered in their attempts to obtain sponsors by their inability to fend for themselves. They were dependent on their English-speaking countrymen, many of whom had little or no sympathy for them. Indeed, it was after the majority of middle and upper class refugees had left the camp, and the language comprehension of the interpreters was the lowest, that most of the farmers and fisherfolk were actively involved in obtaining sponsors.

As to role distinctions, we were most concerned with familial roles. We were interested in how the family defined itself. We were told that refugees chose to register as head of household the person in the family having the best language skills, the greatest chance for employment, and some experience in dealing with bureaucracies. Yet we were never able to find out exactly how they made their selection. However, in some households there was more than one person who fit into this category. The exact basis for making the decision in such cases was never clear to the researchers.

In addition to the selection process of household heads, we were concerned with the status reversal we observed in many family untis. We observed parents being "told" what decisions to make: whether or not to accept a sponsor, to go to English classes, and the like. It appeared that for many of the refugees there was a need not to have to make a decision. Many parents, especially mothers, did not involve themselves in the choice of onsors. Few were brought into the office to meet a potential sponsor. We also observed many women, deprived of the normal housekeeping chores, actively involved in language class. We think that the higher the social class of the refugee, the more anxious he was to get out of the camp. We do not have enough cases to confirm this

hypothesis, but the observation data tend to support such a position.

CONCLUSIONS

No research has ever been accomplished without some anticipated and unanticipated problems. Both researchers were well aware that language was going to be a problem. We knew that our subjects spoke either Vietnamese or Cambodian. We expected that given the duration of the American presence in Vietnam, there would be some persons who spoke English. We also anticipated that there would be a residue of French speakers. Since both researchers had French language skills, we planned to carry out some interviews in French. We were not prepared forthe social class bias that bi-lingualism (i.e., French/Vietnamese, English/Vietnamese) would represent.

At the outset few Vietnamese would admit to understanding French. Those who did were either former military intelligence personnel (who also possessed English language competency) or older persons who were unwilling to be interviewed. As time went on, and as we established better rapport, more Vietnamese would initiate a conversation in French, and this became a second language for much of the interaction with the refugees. More refugees admitted to language competency in English. Initially refugees who were former employees of U.S. government agencies in Saigon and posessed good language skills were anxious to talk with the research team. These were also the same persons who obtained employment as interpreters in the various agencies and were the first to be sponsored out of the camp. As time went on the language problem increased, not only for the researchers but also for the voluntary agencies. Such interpreters as were available were limited in their ability to comprehend English, and even more so in their ability to translate questions and to relay answers from monolingual Vietnamese or Cambodians. This posed a grave problem for the research

team since it was the semi-skilled and unskilled who remained longest in the camp, were the most difficult to place, and were the ones most likely to have long term problems of adjustment.

Given the relationship between language and social class and what we perceived as the desires of the refugees to place themselves in the middle and upper class, we were also concerned about the reliability of the information received from the refugees as to their class position. We also felt that the refugees may attempt to place themselves and their past existence in Vietnam in a much more favorable light than it actually was, or that interpreters would fail to convey the information from Vietnamese of lower status as to their class positions. We were also unsure of what the Vietnamese anticipated to be the advantages to them in cooperating with us in our study. Too often the client cooperates with a researcher in the hope that he (the client) will derive some actual benefit from the research. The camp situation was no exception. Indeed, several of our subjects were anxious to discover what our influences were with the agencies, with the government, and so on. Many asked us to sponsor them. Several continue to contact the members of the research team when any difficulty arises.

A major problem was access to the data. Indeed, this proved to be the most difficult problem of all. There was a general conclusion that a less than favorable impression should be conveyed of the project. The voluntary agencies were anxious to appear to be effective in their attempts to place refugees, the government agencies were anxious since the project was a "sensitive" one, and several politicians were openly opposed to "dumping" large numbers of unskilled Vietnamese in their midst. In addition to the access to the data sources, there was the problem of access to the Vietnamese themselves. The layout of the camp was such that many spent hours away from their respective camps and in the processing area,

ostensibly awaiting a call from the voluntary agency with which they had been registered. One effect of this is that it was difficult to observe the interaction in the residential camps (with the exception of San Onofre, a self-contained unit away from the main processing area, and from which few refugees ventured unless definitely called for by their respective agency). Thus most of our observations were confined to areas where the interaction among Vietnamese was ritualized and where there was a general atmosphere of willingness to assist one another. Though we received information about difficulties arising among refugees due to social class distinctions (petty thefts, quarrels about cleanliness, fights, etc.), we never observed how these were in fact resolved.

"Confidentiality" became a major barrier to the giving and receiving of information. It was difficult to understand what the various persons from whom we attempted to obtain information actually meant by the term. For some staff members, particularly within the Interagency Task Force, it meant that any inforamtion regarding anything about any refugee was to be inaccessible *forever*. Nothing should be retrievable which could identify a particular refugee or sponsor. For others it meant that no information received should be shared, regardless of the rationale. In fact, so concerned were various segments of the staff about confidentiality that on occasion we observed interaction and could have assisted either with translation or with classification, but were never consulted. It seems that records were hastily set up and few attempts were made to evaluate their effectiveness or to alter them in any way. Perhaps because there was little concern for the retrievability of the data, for the possible uses to which the data would be subjected, or how appropriate storage of information would aid the retrieval and expedite the resettlement program, no effort was made to standardize procedures or to ensure compatibility of information.

There were two other factors which proved to be a problem. Both researchers are female and live in San Diego, some forty miles from the camp. The distance made interaction with the refugees after "business" hours very difficult. We travelled back and forth with the agency staff, and although this improved our rapport with them considerably, it meant that we could not observe the camps after the processing operations ceased. That we were female was much more problematic. We had difficulty in dealing with the Marine Command, with some senior members of the Interagency Staff force, who, though polite, never really gave us the type of interview which would have enhanced the reliability of our data. That the bulk of the staff of the voluntary agencies was also female was even more problematic. There was little effective communication among the voluntary agencies until they elected the only male director of an agency to be their representative to the senior staff conferences and to be the medium through which the communications would pass. Our own research was greatly enhanced when a male colleague joined us. He was given access to data which we had attempted to obtain on several occasions without much success. His advice was sought and accepted on data classification. He was able to administer a questionnaire in both Vietnamese and Cambodian translated and prepared for him with the assistance of the publications section of the Interagency Task Force.

In an attempt to resolve the problems outlined above, several approaches were utilized. Initially we attempted to legitimize our position by requesting more supporting documents from the sponsoring institution. In response to these requests a liaison officer was assigned to us, and we were supposed to obtain any assistance needed in carrying out the research from him. We spent several hours with our liaison officer. He was knowledgeable about the camp and about Southeast Asia. However, he did not facilitate our obtaining the data. We were never able to obtain the daily demographic profiles which

we understand were prepared for distribution to the Department of Labor, the Social Security Administration, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Governor of the State of California up until the end of August. At the suggestion of the liaison officer, we requested the sponsoring institution to ask that we be placed on the distribution list for the final report. To date this request has not been honored.

Some problems were more easily resolved. Researcher Murray relocated in the San Clemente area to cut down on travel time and to be available after hours to participate in the interaction among agency staff. This proved to be an excellent decision both in terms of establishing rapport and in terms of providing supplemental information against which to check the information received under different circumstances. It also helped to alert us to possible changes in orientations and to specific problems early in the course of their development. Researcher Justus switched focus to the San Onofre camp, where, with the cooperation of the Marine command, it was possible to observe the interactions among the Cambodians and Vietnamese more closely. The willingness to cooperate proved to be a real boon to the research. Had it not been for the cooperation of the staff at San Onofre, it would have been difficult to observe social class distinctions, interethnic conflict or attempts at conflict resolution.

We were also forced to alter our focus somewhat. We abandoned our original plans for extensive descriptive surveys of a representative sample of Vietnamese and Cambodians stratified by age, sex, and social class because we did not have free enough access to make this type of research possible or meaningful. Furthermore, even if this were indeed possible, the resettlement process was always shifting its focus, and as a result we were constantly involved in attempting to understand what effects each change had on the refugees, and what, if anything, had been gained by each new focus.

We intensified our attempts to obtain written material from each of the agencies in an attempt to understand what was supposed to be taking place. Several agencies provided us with considerably detailed information of their activities, and this proved to be invaluable. Other agencies had less information available but were willing to share it, and these we supplemented with descriptive surveys in order to develop the agency profiles.

Largely as a result of participant observation, we were able to develop close relationships with many refugees. Some 15 refugee families lived in San Clemente in close proximity to the camp. At least one member of each of these families spoke English. Several single English-speaking refugees also lived in the area, employed as interpreters to the various agencies in the camps. These refugees proved to be an invaluable source of information. They were lonely, unaccustomed to the neighborhood, and in some cases very depressed. We spent hours transporting them shopping, taking aged parents to the doctor, and in general observing the interaction in the homes. From these refugees we learned about Vietnam, about their hopes for the future, their fears for family and friends left behind, their perceptions of America and Americans, their concerns over status, and their employment potential. We also learned about the social class distinctions among refugees, what they considered to be indicators of class, and their perceptions of the processing. Much of our understanding of the refugees' definition of the situation is derived from these interviews.

We doubt that we would have altered our methodology a great deal were we given the opportunity to begin again. However, we do know that there is less variation between data received from the large agencies than data received from the smaller agencies, and as a result we could have concentrated our efforts, obtaining more concentrated data on fewer agencies instead of the extensive data on several agencies we now possess. Furthermore, we would have chosen to concentrate more on the

actual processing. These two changes would have resulted in less descriptive data but far more intense qualitative data.

One research tool not utilized in this study is the "Autobiography of the Future." Were we to do this study again, we would have asked refugees to give "future autobiographies," telling how they see themselves six months after placement in an attempt to understand the refugees' perceptions of what they think sponsors will be like. We think that this research strategy would have provided us with information as to the types of questions to ask. We know that refugees were very anxious about sponsorship. Not until reports of breakdowns began to trickle back into camp did we obtain any information as to the causes of their anxiety. Autobiographies of the future would have yielded their opinions of what a sponsor should be, what type of sponsor they think they will have, and how each refugee sees himself working through the problems with the sponsors.

It was impossible to correct for the interviewing situation in the camp. There was a total lack of privacy everywhere, and often in the middle of an interview there would be interruptions of one sort or another. We "discovered" that there were marked differences in understanding what was taking place in camp, and we would have liked to have been able to expose refugees' perceptions better than we did. Often research of this type focuses on the solutions employed by the client to problems facing him. Behavior is seen as resulting from both problem and attempts at resolution in a manner acceptable to the client.

However, our clients were limited in the response they could make. Furthermore, the researchers, unaware as they were of Vietnamese culture, were often unable to discern the differing responses being employed. We now know that one response was to get lost within the camp and to delay participation in the entire process of obtaining a sponsor. We also know that several refugees spent long hours in their tents, only emerging on occasion

for food. We would attempt to utilize some forms of projective tests (e.g., word-association tests) to get a better understanding of the refugees' perceptions of the process. Our data on this phase of the operation are heavily skewed towards the English-speaking refugees employed by various agencies and residing outside of the camp.

We began with a focus on the processing, and we ended with a focus on the processing. Were we to do this project again, we would begin with a focus on the refugee and then attempt to understand the process through his eyes while trying to make sense of the processing. This may have resulted in more "emic" data than we now possess, with "etic" data being of a more limited scope.

Two things could have made a positive difference in this project: time and improved access to the refugees. Given both we could have worked out our language problems, and could have collected more data on such areas as role distinctions, something imperfectly understood but potentially of long-term consequence to the absorption process. The refugee who in addition to shock suffers from status and role reversal is more likely to have long-term emotional problems and recurring problems with employment and adjustment. We do not mean to convey that the refugee who is forced to accept a lower status employment will, of necessity, have long-term emotional problems. We do want to convey that there is a need for the refugee to have recognition, and the refugee who is fortunate enough to be placed in sutuations where it is clearly recognized that there is potential for advancement and is treated as a person of his status expects to be treated will be the happier refugee, even if he at present holds a position of lower status.

As to time: the camp closed at the end of October. We missed the first two months, but we were present until the end. We do feel that we only scratched the surface and could have done more given a little more time. We hope, however, that this research will help us begin to understand the adjustment processes of refugees in this country.

FIELD STUDY PROBLEMS IN A REFUGEE CAMP: COMMUNITY AND BUREAUCRACY COMPOUNDED AND CONFOUNDED*

Stanley F. Wiseman

INTRODUCTION

Comparative studies of political and social phenomena will always pose more challenging research problems than will focus on a single situation. The availability of parallel social and political settings in which there are both major similarities and significant differences compounds the challenge, adding breadth to the data and power to the analysis. But the methodological problems that arise are seldom simple. Part of this complexity, of course, lies in the desire to replicate as closely as possible the methodology of the earlier study. Yet many critical decisions must be faced by the researcher. How closely should the methods used in the original research be replicated in the new setting where racial, ethnic, and cultural elements are different? Or can they be used at all? Will the same data-gathering methods work? Will operational definitions have to be changed drastically? And, if this is so, what effect will the revisions have on the comparability of the data? Can the same sampling methods be used? All of these questions must be answered, and more.

Obviously, the ideal is to duplicate the methods used in the earlier research. Yet the reality of the

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field situation seldom permits such purity. The working researcher is almost always forced to accept modifications that reflect the distinctive nature of the phenomenon and its ambience. This out-of-the-laboratory approach adresses people in flux, and attaining a "research pure" estate would require abandonment of the data obtained in the field as without value. Thus, the researcher in the field learns from his mistakes and maintains as pure a methodology as possible within the existential situation.

In this paper I will briefly outline the background and goals of an earlier research project of a new town in Finland, which was later repeated at one of the major Indochinese refugee relocation camps in California. Both of these settings had a politically interesting factor in common -- they were both "created communities." In each, I attempted to gauge the degree of politicization that emerged under such circumstances. The problems of attempting such comparative research will be described and this description will cover methodological decisions about data-gathering, instrument construction, and sampling. Emphasis will be on the methodological modifications found to be necessary in connection with the second study. However, to understand these, it is first necessary to briefly describe the initial study made in Finland.

DESCRIPTION OF STUDY IN TAPIOLA, FINLAND

The initial research was conducted in Finland in 1973. The new town of Tapiola, a suburb of Helsinki, has been of interest to many social scientists, architects, and city planners, because it was created *in toto* in a fairly short time span. All of the physical features of the dwelling units, stores, and their layouts, as well as the social class characteristics of the population, were planned by an external entity, the Tapiola Housing Foundation, a privately owned, nonprofit corporation. A primary goal of the foundation was that residents not only would live in the new town, but also work there, avoiding

the alienating process of commuting, and encouraging personal identification with the community. My interest in Tapiola was specifically with the question of how people in such newly created surroundings manage to develop an informal political community in response to the in-place service bureaucracy which was operating the new town.[1]

To determine the extent to which a resident political infra-structure balanced the bureaucratic exo-structure, it was first necessary to find out whether the people there felt a greater degree of politicization than at the previous place of residence. The concepts of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*,[3] that is, community versus bureaucracy,[4] can be seen as a continuum which I used to measure the struggle at the local level over available resources, which, because they are always limited, involve a zero sum game.[5] This subject will be discussed in some detail in the following section.

Data gathering was accomplished by a forced choice, self-administered questionnaire in Tapiola. Major portions were devoted to aspects of politicization in the community as compared with previous residence. Another major section of the questionnaire sought to reveal attitudes about alternative ways in which a resident of the new town might react if faced with various everyday crises: problems of child transportation, utility failure, sanitation, bureaucratic arbitrariness, and so on.

For example, the answers given by residents when asked what action they might take if street lights in their neighborhood were broken by vandals tends to reflect their attitudes about their own political efficacy and the community ambience. The affected resident might choose to take direct action, calling the problem to the attention of the street department, obtaining repair in a more or less routinely efficient (and *gesellschaft*) manner. If the routine bureaucratic response is not forthcoming, there are alternative choices. The citizen may call again and

seek action at a higher political level within or without the department (still a *gesellschaft* response, although less so since personal influence is being attempted). Or the actor may seek help from a group with which he had a previous affiliation in connection with a special interest (e.g., the community garden club, the neighborhood club, the ward political club). A third possiblity is that the actor may form a new political action group.[6]

Items in each of these series were combined to form several scales. The first series of scales indicated the degree of politicization (in terms of political attitudes), the second, the degree of political action orientation in terms of the *gemeinschaft-gesellschaft* spectrum. By cross-tabluation of the two series, the relation between politicization and approach to community problem-solving was ascertained (i.e., through the in-place bureaucracy, or through community groups.)[7] (Aggregate data allowed a comparison of differentially politicized groups and their relationship on these two axes.) Additional background data on age, social class, and other demographic elements were included in the questionnaire to see if any had significant effect on the dependent variable: political orientation.

Although linkages between attitudes of the moment and actual actions have been questioned as having only weak support in the data,[8] my interest was as much in the state of mind of the respondents in terms of cumulative ambience in their community (*gemeinschaft* versus *gesellschaft*) as in actual behavior. I believe such a phenomenological state is a strong predictive variable of problem-solving behavior in local politics.[9] Additionally, the questionnaire gave me access to reactions (attitudinally speaking) towards a wide variety of common community problems that might never occur during the time I was in Finland, nor be visible to an observer if they did occur.

Practically, it is difficult to be a participant observer or nonparticipant observer if not fluent in the

language of the people being studied. This language problem, plus my limited funds, made interviewer-handled instruments out of the question as well.

The questionnaire was carefully pretested among bilingual Finns to make certain that the various indicators of important values and concepts had the desired meaning to the respondents. Bendix, for instance, makes the point that there exists a major problem in locating universal concepts for use in cross-cultural research.[10] I know of no truly satisfactory solution except to try to use indicators that are as meaningful as possible to the person being interviewed, while simultaneously being valid for the purposes of the study. The researcher should therefore be ready to adjust these indicators when necessary to reflect the reality, rather than the analytical world. I might add that this issue caused a number of problems and consequent adjustments in the Indochinese comparative study of refugees, as will be discussed below.

A cluster sample technique was used in Tapiola to distribute the questionnaire to the residents and proportionately sample the various classes of housing residents in the community. This is discussed in greater detail in the section on sampling where the problems of replicating this approach in the Camp Pendleton refugee center will be covered. Adult residents of the community, both male and female, were included in the Finnish study.

THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE INDOCHINESE REFUGEE CAMP

Camp Pendleton, a U.S. Marine Corps base in Southern California, became the site in late May, 1975 for a resettlement camp to house persons fleeing the war in Indochina. A created community with an official in-place bureaucratic exo-structure for its operation, it offered a parallel setting to Tapiola in Finland. Also, the differences between the new town and the refugee camp situation provided new variables. These new factors were as follows:

1. The refugee camp, including the housing, was considered as transitional, whereas Tapiola was permanent. Each day for the refugees was one day closer to termination of their stay. Thus, each political interaction involved awareness of impermanence, which in turn tended to cause the individual to emphasize personal survival values over concern for the place.

2. Whereas individuals who moved into Tapiola had not experienced any break in their culture when they departed their former place of residence, the refugees were uprooted from their national home and were in a transitional stage towards becoming citizens in an entirely new culture.

This impermanence meant that a characteristic of the Finnish study was reversed. Instead of using available institutions (or trying to create new ones) to preserve their living accomodations (as in the case in Finland), the Pendleton respondents were primarily trying to get away from their existing accomodations. Thus, one of the linkages which tends to create feelings of political *gemeinschaft*, rootedness or loyalty to a particular place,[11] was expected to be missing. Yet there might be a certain spirit which sometimes arises out of temporary camp situations, a feeling of "we're all in this together," which sometimes replaces loyalty to a particular place.[12] The identification of this subtly different aspect of *gemeinschaft* became a research goal.

Initially, it was hoped that the methodological approach to data gathering in Tapiola could be used *in toto* in the refugee camp. However, initial pretesting of the refugee population forced a review of all major areas of research policy. In-field problems resulted in changes first in sampling, then in questionnaire construction, and finally in data collection.

Problems in each of these areas can be traced to the physical attributes of the camp, the cultural heritage of the refugees, and the impermanence of the situation. In the discussion that follows, the research

approach of the original study of Tapiola will be described in greater detail, followed by a discussion of similarities and differences between it and the refugee camp situation.

SAMPLING STRATEGIES FOR CREATED COMMUNITIES

At the time of the 1973 Finnish study, Tapiola's population of 16,000 was composed primarily of people who had moved there under the auspices of the Foundation, which was privately funded. As a result of the policy of the Foundation to create a socially and economically mixed society, a proportionate number of the residents were working class and received a government housing subsidy. Two-thirds of the population were adults, with men and women being in equal proportion.

In the Pendleton refugee camp, the finite population was between 10,000 and 16,000 during the months of the study -- September and October, 1975, although the number dwindled towards the end of the month as the camp moved towards termination. In contrast to the age breakdown in Tapiola, about 45 percent of the refugee camp population were children and persons under 18 years old, Fifty-five percent were men and 45 percent were women.

When the refugees arrived at the resettlement center, they were processed for security clearances and immunizations, and then were assigned social security numbers. The final step was to obtain sponsorship by some U.S. citizen or agency. The State Department contracted a number of experienced refugee resettlement agencies to interview the refugees and match them with interested sponsors in various communities. If refugees failed for some reason to connect with either a sponsor or a job, they were sent on to more permanent quarters for the winter, assuming that ultimately homes and jobs would be found.

As might be expected, there was a substantial difference between the physical setting in Tapiola and

the refugee camp. The new town setting was deliberately chosen for its attractive surroundings and architecturally planned for pleasant living. Tapiola is located on a site adjacent to Helsinki Bay, nestled among birch trees, with various types of housing spread over the 16 acres: single-family, town houses, and apartments. Playgrounds were interspersed with gently rolling hills and groves of trees. Landscapedsubneighborhoods had their own service facilities. At the Town Center a large sports center was available to residents.

On the other hand, the 200 quonset huts and over 1000 tents of the three refugee camps were spread over the barren hills and gulleys of the Pendleton reservation.[13]

The major sampling approach used in both communities, Tapiola and Pendleton, was based on housing unit rather than individuals or families, since this was the fixed local point of reference contacted most easily. Neither the Housing Foundation nor the Refugee Camp Task Force was able to supply the investigator with up-to-date listings of residents by name and address.[14]

Tapiola's sample was selected using multi-stage sampling techniques. More precisely, a map of the town supplied by the Foundation was divided into four areas of approximately the same size and composition. These were sampled using cluster sampling methods suggested by Blalock and others.[15]

A random number was assigned to each neighborhood from the random numbers table, and then to each apartment house, row hose, and detached home and, finally, to each resident within each building unit chosen.[16] Self-administered questionnaires translated into Finnish were delivered by hand, along with a letter of introduction from the Tapiola Housing Foundation, each with a stamped, self-addressed return envelope. Return on the questionnaire was 50 percent, which is considered low where used in American studies. Efforts were made, however, to ensure that this return was as representative of all types of

housing units as possible. Records of returns were maintained and under-represented clusters were resampled in succeeding second and third waves. Thus, the sample might be characterized as smaller than desired but still fairly representative of the various aspects of the population of interest.

At the refugee camp, similar sampling techniques were attempted, although conditions unique to the camp forced several modifications. Because there was no overall map of the refugee camp, hand-drawn maps were made on the spot. Rather than a mixture of dwelling units as at Tapiola, each occupied camp was divided into sectors, tents and quonsets, fully occupied, and partially occupied.[17] Each of these was assigned a number from the random numbers table. Cluster sampling was then used, as at Tapiola. However, because more than one family often occupied a tent or quonset, each family group within a dwelling unit had to be randomized as well.

In addition to the modifications in the sampling approach, other changes in sampling had to be made in the refugee camp in response to the characteristics of the residents, as they differed from the Finnish new town population both in culture and permanence. These are described below.

In the Tapiola study, as mentioned, an attempt was made to control for the sex of the respondent, inas much as males have been shown to be more politically motivated than females of the same time and place.[18] Unfortunately, men responded out of proportion in Tapiola (64 percent men and only 36 percent women). However, the women who did respond expressed feelings of higher political efficacy than did the men.[19] There was also more cognition by the women that the new town had more of a *gemeinschaft* political ambience than their previous place of residence. It is possible, of course, that this finding reflects a self-selection factor in female respondents in that more women political activists answered the question-

naire. Although the questionnaire was never specifically identified as being political, it is entirely possible that the questions would intrigue politically active women. One way of looking at this finding is to note the sheer numbers of such women in Tapiola, itself an interesting fact.

It was originally assumed that attempts should be made to get an equal proportion of the sexes in the Camp Pendleton refugee sample. Pretesting, however, revealed a different problem of sexual balance than encountered in Tapiola. Few women at the refugee camp were interested in responding to questions about politics, deferring on each question to the head male of their family group. In the few cases discovered where the women were willing to discuss the questions and to express an opinion, it was determined that they had been economically emancipated prior to coming to the camp, but these were atypical.[20] Thus, the refugee sample was limited to males.

In Tapiola, the new town population was made up of two ethnic groups, the Finns and the Swedomens (Swedish stock, but Finnish nationality). Although the Swedomens in Tapiola were only about 7.5 percent of the total population, they were quite influential in the culture and predominantly in the upper middle class and upper class. Inasmuch as Finns and Swedomens were randomly distributed throughout Tapiola, it was decided that these persons would be obtained in proper proportion to the cluster sampling.

In the refugee camp, the ethnic composition was primarily Vietnamese (about 15,000), although there were at the time of the study approximately 400 Cambodians and 300 Laotians. The same proportions as above were maintained in the sample with relative ease, since the three ethnic groups were kept separate in the camp by their own request.

QUESTIONNAIRE CONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS

In the Finnish study a community infrastructure of clubs and associations had developed at the local level, which provided political linkages through informal and formal political action to achieve effective allocation of available resources.[21] Although there were some extended families, these were the exception rather than the rule and nuclear families predominated. Even where there were extended families, these had in most cases been organized into special associations, which were devoted to the family interests on a broad spectrum. Because of this, the questions in the Tapiola questionnaire were structured to focus on the formal and informal clubs as alternative means of solving community problems that required group action, rather than the extended family as a political unit.

On the other hand, the extended family is a primary characteristic of Indochinese culture. This is a very pervasive fact of Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian life. The family is the social apparatus through which all social, economic, and political interests are negotiated for most of the people of these cultures. The authority of the family is totally accepted in all phases of life. The injunctions of filial piety and conjugal obedience are unconditional, and equal justice is secondary to social harmony.[22]

Additionally, the short time the refugee camp had been in existence (in contrast to the ten-year development of Tapiola) had not given the refugees much of a chance to form clubs and associations.[23] The impermanence of the camp and the total lack of autonomy under the military administration did little to encourage group action clubs or associations. The family thus continued to be, both by tradition and default, the major effective political apparatus available to the individual seeking some help at the local level.[24]

Once the dominance of the family became obvious, the refugee questionnaire was modified to substitute the extended family as the apparatus that would most truly represent the *gemeinschaft* element of the local community in a problem situation in place of the local clubs and associations used in Finland.

The emphasis on family over clubs or associations was not, however, the biggest cultural difference between Tapiola residents of Western Europe and refugee camp residents from the East. A more basic difference is found in political philosophy, in which family influence is but one variable.

A fundamental problem of doing intercultural research is striking a reasonable balance between the social and cultural history of a people and the pragmatic facts of their new social and economic reality. The situation at the refugee camp as compared with that of the new town in Finland is one illustration of this. The Finn's basic orientation in terms of social structure, economics, and politics can be characterized as western.[25] And in the West, most of the political theory is based on the idea of Spencer, Bentham, and Hobbes that the political realm tends always to mirror the social and economic realities, that the social and economic conditions give shape and form to political institutions.

Lucian Pye suggests that precisely the opposite may be the case in many of the Eastern cultures; the dynamic force in the society may be the political where the pattern of daily life is more responsibe to ideological forces.[26] This would fit very well the patterns of Indochinese life, since the notions of competition, invention, and change that Americans take so much for granted are unreal to many of the refugees. Until recently, their societies were closed to such dynamic factors. The same general technology as their ancestors practiced for thousands of years is still applied in the fields and villages of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.[27]

One might hypothesize from these facts that the Indochinese are not socialized towards what Western political philosophers call pluralism.[28] Instead, they seek unanimity through intellectual conformity, based on the education and socialization of their family, which in turn is based on the philosophy of Confucius. This results in a totally different childhood socialization pattern. Where the Western child grows up with a variety of non-family authority figures (teacher, clergy, doctor, lawyer, police, artists, scientists and so on), the child in Indonesia lives in a monolithic world, the world of the family and beyond that the state.[29]

It seems quite probable that these monolithic authority attitudes are not immediately changed by being uprooted from ancient family lands. Liu, for instance, offers evidence to this point.[30] If this is the case, then perhaps the refugee experience actually enhanced the internal cohesion of the group, strengthening the family authority linkages. Such a phenomenon could account for the fact that the refugees interviewed expressed ambivalence about many of the questions inasmuch as the family *per se* did not provide any guidance in the area of politics, except towards conformity.[31]

The ambivalence, and the leaning towards conformity which produces the anticipate[1] response phenomenon, were even further accentuated by another element -- the transitory nature of the refugee camp situation, plus general feelings of impotence and fear of failure. These background variables, while not believed to be supervening, are difficult to anticipate or compensate for in a survey instrument. They may account for other major attitudinal differences at the refugee camp as compared with the new town in Finland.

In Tapiola, the political problem at the community level was to find out what the resources were when idiosyncratic problems arose, how to apply these resources to obtain an advantageous solution, and how to ascertain in

advance what the consequences of a particular action might be. There was no apparent fear of political retaliation by either the Foundation or the government for pushing an unpopular idea.

On the other hand, a major problem at the refugee center in California was a suspiciousness bordering on a political paranoia (although not perhaps justified in the camp, certainly somewhat justified in light of their historical experience). Many of the refugees came from countries where the governments made spying by undercover political police a routine matter. Retaliation against suspected "disloyal" elements could come with great suddenness and for no apparent reason. Additionally, many of the refugees undoubtedly had some experience with certain undercover elements of the U.S. presence in Indochina,[32] which would tend to compound individual and group feelings that caution was necessary where political matters were concerned. The desperate need for American sponsorship and jobs may have further enhanced the fears and the need to anticipate the "correct" response, thereby avoiding offense to anyone that might be of help.

On the overt level, in regards to the survey, these cautions and fears were manifested by anger, suspicion, or an attempt at extreme conformity in answers to questions. Respondents often seemed to be straining to tell the interviewer what they thought he wanted to hear. In the Finnish study, the fact of sponsorhip by the Housing Foundation was sufficient to assure that a fairly high percentage of the respondents would complete and return the questionnaire. In the refugee camp, the matter of who was sponsoring this study created suspicion rather than reassurance.

The problems which arose with translators eventually provided a clue to the respondents' somewhat fearful response to my study. The volunteer translators, who initially expressed strong interest in helping obtain interviews, tended to become unreliable when their peer group expressed inability or unwillingness to answer a

difficult question. One translator simply disappeared each time I came to camp for an appointment to obtain interviews. Another, after promising to acquaint the tent coordinator with the plan to have refugee respondents interviewed at a particular location the following day, warned them away on the grounds that I was "some kind of political officer."[33]

My solutions to the problem of lack of rapport generated by these suspicions were, at best, a compromise. The anger could be dispelled in some cases by an explanation that this was not a government investigation, merely a study of the way people act when confronted with problems of living in a new setting. A standard answer to this issue was typed on a three-by-five card, and handed to the interpreter each time the issue was raised.[34] Although this explanation was moderately successful, it still failed to overcome completely the desire to conform produced by the fear of making a "political" error.

The attempt to have the revised questionnaire translated into Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotioan, so that it could be self-administered, proved impractical because of the differences in cultures and the ambivalence and fears, as previously discussed. Without a trained interviewer present, plus a translator to explain who was asking the questions and why they were being asked, the translated questionnaires were simply deposited in the nearest waste receptacle.

In coping with this situation, and because of the generally crowded conditions,[35] the questionnaire was administered by holding group meetings within dwelling areas, with a translator standing by, explaining each question as it was answered in great detail.[36]

Such an approach allowed the respondent to feel support of family members (rather than feeling singled out for questioning). However, it had some obvious drawbacks, the primary one being lack of privacy. Answers given were no doubt often reflections of what the respondent thought the group expected him to say. Of course,

one never knows how privately self-administered questionnaires are answered either. They may well be a group or family product in the Finnish study as well.[37]

CONCLUSIONS

The discussion which has been presented in this paper points up the problem of attempting to replicate methods when doing a comparative study in a parallel social setting. As Bendix warned, some concepts had to be reoperationalized to be useful in gathering data. Questionnaires had to be modified as did the method of administering the instrument. Sampling procedures were reorganized to fit the actual field setting. Nevertheless, I believe the effort was well worthwhile. Given greater economic resources and more time, many of the field problems could have been completely overcome. In addition, out of each difficulty grew more knowledge about the relationships, the political phenomenon of community and political action, and reaffirmation of some older relationships such as the primacy of the extended family as a basic political unit in times of problems.

NOTES

1 Stanley F. Wiseman, "*Gemeinschaft* versus *Gesellschaft* in a Finnish New Town," *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, III:2 (November, 1975) 141-152. The unabridged version was a California State University Master's Thesis, March 1974, Hayward, California.

2 Politicization here is taken to mean the degree to which people are interested in, aware of, and sophisticatedly responsive to political problems and actions. This degree, of course, depends in turn upon how efficacious

the actor believes he or she might be, given a problem which involves access to and use of the authoritative allocation of resource or value at the local level. For an excellent discussion of this, see Seymore Martin Lipset, *Political Man* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday-Anchor, 1960) 183-229; Lester W. Milbrath, *Political Participation* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965) 68; and William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1959).

[3] Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Society: Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft* translated by Charles Loomis (New York: Harper and Row, 1963). Other classical treatments of the phenomena delineated by Tönnies include Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947) 115-118; Emile Durhkeim's "Theory of Mechanical and Organic Solidarity," *Division of Labor in Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1959).

[4] More modern approaches can be found in Talcott Parsons' "Pattern Variables," *The Social System* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951) 58-67, as discussed in Charles Loomis, *Social Systems: Essays on Their Persistence and Change* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1961) 57-63; R.M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology* (New York: Farrar and Reinhart, 1937) 8-91; *Web of Government* (New York: The Free Press, 1965) 144-155; Jessie Bernard, *American Community Behavior*, Rev.ed. (New York: Holt, Reinhart, and Winston, 1962); Robert Nisbet, *Community and Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962); Edward D. Baltzell (ed.), *The Search for Community in Modern America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968); and Phillip E. Jacob and James V. Toscano (eds.), *The Integration of Political Communities* (New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1964).

[5] Wiseman, *ibid.*, 149-152.

[6] Obviously, no particular group or organization in a community is likely to have *all* the characteristics which tend to be labeled as *gemeinschaft*, nor *vice versa*. Groups seeking to affect a goal involving effective allocation of resources or values in a power situation may, of course, be internally of quite a *gesellschaft*-like nature. However, in most instances, the activity-based, special interest group is more likely to have the characteristics traditionally attributed to the *gemeinschaft* side of the spectrum, just as a service bureaucracy is more likely to have characteristics on the *gesellschaft* side. In using a continuum, I am trying to avoid the rigidity of Weber's dichotomous ideal type, although still dealing with the need for universal types in an interview situation. See Robert Nisbet, *The Quest for Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), for a complete discussion of some of these problems.

[7] It is obvious that most people attempting to label their choice of alternative action through which they might solve a problem of community resource allocation do *not* neccessarily label it "political" or even necessarily see either their action or their group action as being involved in politics. This is a separation by social scientists to enable themselves to analyze the existential situation, and it often reflects their ideological distortions and biases. See Arnold Brecht, *Political Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959) 14-15.

[8] Herbert Blumer, "Attitudes and the Social Act," *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969) 90-100.

[9] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House Vintage, 1961) makes a most convincing case for more attention to this issue.

[10] Reinhard Bendix, "Concepts and Generalizations in Comparative Sociological Studies," *Transactions of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology* (Louvain: International Sociological Association, 1963) 533, observed that Max Weber's concept of bureaucracy (in the sense of governmental organization under the rule of law) applies principally to the countries of northern Europe from the nineteenth century onward. However, Bendix also endorsed Parsons' "pattern variables," which are a modern extension of Tönnies' concepts, as an aid in analyzing social structures in terms of distinguishing one from another, and establishing internal coherent linkages which are inherent in the analysis. He makes the caveat that some generalizations about universals may have to be modified as a result of cross cultural research.

[11] R.E. Lane, *Political Ideology* (New York: Free Press, 1962) 295-303.

[12] John Steinbeck's story about the experiences of an extended family, driven from the dust bowl in the 1930's depression, and their marathon auto trip across country to California is a case in point. See *The Grapes of Wrath* (New York: Viking Press, 1939) 264-269, where Steinbeck describes the temporary *gemeinschaft* roadside organizations created by these families as they camped together for the night. See also Nicholas P. Lovrich, *Political Culture and Civic Involvement: A Comparative Analysis of Immigrant Ethnic Communities in San Pedro, California* (Los Angeles: UCLA Ph.D. thesis, 1971).

[13] The billeting reports shifted from day to day, ranging from 170 huts and 1086 tents in July to 203 huts and 781 tents in September, a month later. See Official Billeting Reports, Interagency Task Force, Indochinese Refugees, Marine Corps element.

[14] Near the end of the research effort, it was learned the local commune (municipality), which had jurisdiction over Tapiola, had a computerized listing of residents. To obtain access, however, would have involved several months of petitioning government committees, both at the local and federal levels.

[15] Herbert M. Blalock, *Social Statistics* (New York: Wiley, 1965) 504-21; W.G. Cockran, *Sampling Techniques* (New York: Wiley, 1963) 2nd. ed., 71; and Leslie Kish, *Survey Sampling* (New York: Wiley, 1965) 151-66. The cluster sample was used as an alternative to pure random sampling in each sample sub-area because of restricted resources and limited time (less traveling involved in delivering questionnaires). Although random sampling is considered to produce the most representative sample generally, as a practical matter nearly the same results can be obtained by taking the sample in clusters. In some instances, purposeful selection of clusters assures their being represented in the sample in proper proportion, while a random approach might, by chance, miss them. Most authorities agree the danger of increased homogeneity in cluster sampling can be minimized by additional randomizing at other levels of the survey.

[16] Tapiola had approximately 80 percent multi-story apartments, 10 percent townhouses and garden apartments, and 10 percent detached homes.

[17] The quonsets, which were larger than the tents, became more desirable as the weather turned colder, and transfers from the tents were effected in September and October. For example, Camp Onofee had approximately 115 huts (tents hold sixteen, huts hold 28). Camp Six at Talega was entirely tent facilities, and this was closed October 1, as was Camp Five on October 14 (104 tents), and Camp Four on October 23 (91 tents, seven huts).

[18] Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *Civic Culture* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1963) 225-256, found in studying five nations that men showed higher frequencies and greater intensities than women in practically all indices of political orientation and activity. See also Elina Haavio-Mannila, "Sex Roles in Politics," *Scandinavian Political Studies* 5 (1970) 209-38, and Veronica Stolte Heiskanen, "Sex Roles, Social Class, and Political Gonsciousness," *Scandinavian Political Studies* 6 (1971) 83-95.

[19] Stanley F. Wiseman, "The Higher Degree of Politicization of Women in a Finnish New Town," a paper presented at the Pacific Sociological Association Annual meetings, Political Sociology Section, San Jose, California, March, 1974.

[20] Haavio-Mannila has reported that employed married women are more likely to discuss their opinions of political issues than unmarried or non-working women. See her "Sex-role in Finland, 1966-70," *Journal of Social Issues* 28:2 (1972) 93-110.

[21] See Eric Allardt, "On the Cumulative Nature of Leisure-time Activities," *Acta Sociologica 3* : 1 (1960), for a description of this phenomenon.

[22] Frances Fitzgerald, *Fire in the Lake: The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam* (New York: Random House Vintage Books, 1972) Ch. 1, and particularly 11-26.

[23] A number of team sports were organized for the refugees by the YMCA, with help from the Marine Corps support unit, but this did not originate with the residents of the camp, but from the administration, which recognized this as a need of the young men and women.

[24] Supporting evidence for the continued dominance of the

extended family in the refugee camp was supplied by volunteer teachers and administrators of the San Diego County School District, which was in charge of the education program at the refugee camp. A first attempt in June to supply U.S. orientation and "basic English" met with near indifference. After a meeting with heads of families, however, with stress being laid on the fact that sponsorship and jobs would be easier to obtain if classes were taken, the reorganized program jumped from eleven teachers and less than 100 students in June to more than 10,000 students in 300 classes in July, August, and September.

[25] This is true even considering the hegemonial factor, which in the case of the Finns is a mixture, but with strong leanings towards the Scandinavian model, and rejecting the Soviet model.

[26] Lucian W. Pye, "The Developing Areas: Problems for Research," in Robert C. Ward, *et al.*, *Studying Politics Abroad* (Boston: Little, Brown and co., 1964) 5-15.

[27] Fitzgerald, *op. cit*, 11-15.

[28] Essentially the use of the term "pluralism" here refers to the body of political theory that has grown out of the ideas of deTocqueville, the so-called group theory in which society in the industrial age is a balance of conflict and consensus, and the idea is accepted that politically deviant groups can through group action attain access to the political system. This access gives such groups some degree of control (power) over the authoritative allocation of resources and values in the society. This is to be distinguished from Marx's concept where change can only be obtained through greater and greater class conflict and polarity of the two

bourgeoisie and proletariat. Interestingly enough, it does not necessarily exclude the theory that industrial society creates pressures that will cause a continual drift towards what has been called Mass Society in which the political effectiveness of group action is reduced substantially and political leaders are forced into a charismatic personalist mode to attain power through the masses. Kornhauser, *op. cit.*

29 Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, 22-29. The Vietnamese authority linkage is substantially different from that of the West. People from Indochina accept the idea that obligations, rather than rights, are the basis of relations and distinctions between people: the duty of the son to the father, the person to the sovereign, and *vice versa*. For example, in the Vietnamese language there is no word that corresponds to the English word "I." When a man speaks of himself, he says "your brother," "your nephew," "your teacher," depending on the relationship with the person he is addressing.

30 William T. Liu, "On the Use of the Revealed Difference Method in Family Study and its Cross-cultural Significance," in *Transactions of the Sixth World Congress on Sociology* IV (September, 1966) 131. Liu reports the tentative finding that power relationships in Chinese families in the crown colony of Hong Kong had changed little despite the uprooting experience, and, if anything, the family relationships were strengthened.

31 Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, 22.

32 One translator, an American who was apparently attached to one group of refugees, told me he had been a CIA employee in that country and was in the camp awaiting assignment.

[33] I learned this quite by accident. The translator obtained sponsorship shortly after the incident and his replacement was more cooperative. In addition, one of the refugee camp volunteer organization workers heard about the incident and asked me if it was true I was working for the CIA.

[34] The text is as follows: Dear Friends: I am *not* employed by any government agency. I am a professor studying the way people life and solve problems. Your answers to me will be *confidential*. I have no interest in learning your names or family names. I hope you will be willing to help in this matter. It is, however, entirely voluntary.

[35] With three or four families in a tent or hut, it was impossible to get respondents alone in their quarters, and officials provided no private place for interviewing.

[36] Interpreters were urged before each interview situation only to give help to respondents that might clarify general procedure in answering the questions. They were warned each time to avoid giving anyone affirmative help on the substantive part of the questions.

[37] The self-administered questionnaire worked well in the Finnish study. I believe this was because the population was used to receiving and answering government questionnaires through the mail. See Herbert Hyman, *Survey Design and Analysis* (New York: Free Press, 1955).

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INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH SUMMARIES AND REPORTS

In partial fulfillment of its mission to stimulate and facilitate research, RIIES has either hosted or sponsored short term research on special aspects of the immigration phenomenon. In addition to the ongoing research notes on work commissioned or funded by the Institute, this volume includes summaries of findings or reports of work in progress of a few of the resident associates who have utilized the facilities of the Institute or of resident pre-doctoral fellows who have worked under the supervision of the professional personnel of the Institute. Though not fully cited in this volume, the Institute personnel have offered consultation and supervision to graduate students from various universities across the country on a wide range of related subjects, including life histories of West Indian laborers of the Panama Canal Zone, ethnicity in the American Virgin Islands, oral histories and archeological study of slave quarters in Maryland and North Carolina, and family and community among Jamaican immigrants in rural Costa Rica.

The following pages contain summaries and reports on a cross section of work at various stages of completion and which has been or is being carried out by the resident fellows or associates of the Research Institute.

LATINO ADVERSITY: CULTURE, DISEASE AND STRESS AMONG LATIN AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS -- A SUMMARY

Lucy Cohen, Research Associate, 1975-1976*

Immigrants have transformed American society. In the course of settlement each newcomer group has shown a distinctive cultural character which reflects the conditions and experiences of the period of entry. In keeping with the traditional orientation of anthropological research, this study emphasizes the other side of the coin; namely, the sociocultural realities which shaped the course of the immigrants' lives within the family, at work, and in the management of problems of illness and the stresses of life. This summary of an anthropological field study will briefly summarize my findings on some relationships between sex roles, family, and levels of stress.

Interviews were conducted with ninety-seven Latino respondents in Washington, D.C. They were drawn from two sources. The first was a community group of known seekers of health services drawn from a multi-purpose community center. The second was composed of the parents of children from the two schools in the city with the highest proportion of Spanish-speaking children. I was interested in discovering more fully the relationships between sociocultural factors of Latino immigrants and their health and

* This is an abridged version of a much larger monograph with the same title by the author and published by Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1976. The research was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health, Center of Minority Health Problems (21725) and the Catholic University Faculty Research Fund (Biomedical Sciences Grant).

use of health services. The second group therefore made a good comparison group, as the health status of its members was unknown prior to research. In addition, the school group was selected for comparison because they were assumed to be a more stable population than the community respondents.[1]

Most of the ninety-seven men and women who participated in the study were from Central and South America. They represented the prevalent nationalities from the Latino regions which are found in Washington. Almost three-fourths of the total population were women. This high proportion signals the trend for Central and South American women to act as leaders of the immigration from those countries to the United States.

Most women entered the country for the first time after they had begun to raise a family, leaving children behind in the care of spouses and other kin. They were highly motivated, however, to reunite their families as soon as possible. This explains the fact that they worked full time, or if only part-time that they aspired to gain full-time employment. Because they were in general less well educated than the men who emigrated -- reflecting the situation in most Latin American countries -- they tended to be employed as domestics or in such semi-skilled jobs as dry cleaning operators.

Nuclear and extended families, composed of relatives and affines and connected by ties of propinquity, functioned as sources of mutual help on such tasks as child care, assistance with job search, or counseling for problems of illness. These findings were of interest in the light of some literature which suggests that 'familism' or close attachments among Latinos act as deterrents to mobility. Mutual help in the family was an important cushioning force which helped the Latinos in this study to settle and to establish new roles in the host society.

A key issue about propositions on the function of "kinship ties" among Latinos has been the dearth of concrete detailed analyses of the structure of Latino households and domestic units, and their relation to mutual help and assistance. Generalized descriptions of family life in community settings should be followed by efforts to understand particular family organization and process. In the present research, analyses of the composition of families pointed to some unexpected data regarding the nature of extended and nucelar households.

For example, extended families composed of parents, children and other kin in lineal or lateral relationships, were characteristic principally of households headed by women. Additional data showed that sixty percent of all Latino women who had ever been in a conjugal relationships were heads of households. The families in which both spouses were present were usually composed of the nuclear unit of father, mother and children. Although some of these households had other kin present, particularly from the wife's side, most tended to be independent units.

With regards to the study of stress, comparisons of the symptom levels of the Community and School parent groups underscored the notion that the absence of active family relationships which satisfied such basic needs as the giving and receiving of love, contributed to a greater psychological risk in the Community group.[2] The differences in the way men and women drew upon this support, however, were important. The Community men who had higher stress scores spent a shorter period of time in the United States and they were separated from wives and families. In contrast, the established men in the School parent group, who lived with wives and children, had the lowest stress scores of all groups. The scores of women did

not show these marked contrasts. Differences in sex role expectations and family careers were evident in these findings.

Latin American women appeared to be expected to excercise greater emotional self-reliance than men. Men seldom remained as single parents, whereas many of the women, who had become heads of households, established linkages with the extended network of kin without re-establishing conjugal ties. Although women appeared to cope more successfully with some stresses than men, life in the household setting was never "too good" or "too bad" for them. It may be that, to some degree, such an outlook on life enabled Latino women to tolerate stress more successfully than men.

Control of self can be seen as a central guide for the regulation of behaviour since Latinos used it to help them cope with symptoms of anger, anxiety, and depression. The dynamic aspects of this mediating mechanism were identified in case analyses which offered descriptions of the expectations about the management of behavioural problems among school children, and conflict solving between men and women in conjugal relationships.

In the process of socialization, parents emphasized feminine and masculine ideals about the containment of feelings. Girls were expected to learn to cultivate behaviour to elicit respect and deference, while boys were to learn to control aggression. Parents expected these priorities to receive high priority in the school setting as well as in the home. Parents and teachers, however, had contrasting views about the etiology of the school problems of Latino children. Whereas school authorities relied on referrals to traditional mental health specialists for counseling, parents searched for ways to change the perceived detrimental influence of physical weakness, heredity, peer group influence, and the social quality of the neighborhood environment.

As the children learn from their parents, in particular, a question to which special consideration should be given is: What influence do the changing concepts of relations between Latino men and women have on the child's coping patterns?

The illustrative cases of two Washington, D.C.[3] couples suggest that at times of conflict women in roles of wives call into question traditional beliefs about the nature of aggressive feelings among men, and the self containment of troubles among women. These changing views among wives should have impact on their roles as mothers, and on their expectations of how growing girls and boys should cope with the challenges in the new setting.

Unfortunately, there is little information on these patterns of child development and growth among Latinos in the United States. In light of the increased interest in understanding patterns of resilience and vulnerability among children in general, this area should receive high priority. In her recent pioneering work, *Vulnerability, Coping and Growth*, Lois B. Murphy indicates that her investigations have been conducted in a group from one ecological setting.[4] The present investigation indicates that this would be a fruitful area for further work.

Finally, an additional area presents itself as in need of further study. Many Latino immigrants appear to be continuously altering their role expectations in the family and at work in order to do better for their children or loved ones. We need to understand in greater detail just how the processes of reshaping old beliefs and behaviours, the learning of customs and the creation of new patterns of living combine to become part of the continuously evolving feminine and masculine ideals.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For detailed information on sampling procedures and questionnaire content, see Cohen, pp. 13-27.

[2]A twenty-question Health Opinion Survey was used to measure stress. It was translated by the author in consultation with D.C. Leighton and others. It was derived from the set of seventy-five questions prepared originally in the Sterling County Study, Allister M. Macmillan, *The Health Opinion Survey: Technique for Estimating Prevalence of Psyconeurotic and Related Types of Disorders in Communities*. Psychological Reports 3 (Monograph Supplement 7), Grand Forks, North Dakota: Southern Universities Press, 1957, pp. 325-339. The short scale has been used for various purposes and in various settings. See D.C. Leighton, *et al.*, *The Character of Danger*, New York: Basic Books, 1963; A.H. Leighton, *et al.*, *Psychiatric Disorders among the Yoruba*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1963; Stephen Kellert, *et al.*, "Culture Change and Stress in Rural Peru," *Milbank Memorial Quarterly*, Vol. XVL, No. 4, October 1967, pp. 391-415; D.C. Leighton, *et al.*, eds., *Essays on Medical Anthropology* (Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings, No. 1), Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1968, pp. 36-53. For a discussion of the measure and results of its use in my study, see Cohen, pp. 191-216.

[3]Cohen, pp. 229-236.

[4]Lois Barclay Murphy and Alice E. Moriarty, *Vulnerability, Coping and Growth*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.

ORGANIZATIONS SERVICING PUERTO RICANS AND VIRGIN ISLANDERS IN NEW YORK CITY: A REPORT

Carmen Hilda Allende, Pre-doctoral Research Fellow, 1975

It is not easy for researchers to locate meaningful data on Puerto Rican and Virgin Island immigrants to the United States. Since they migrate from extra-territorial jurisdictions of the United States, these people are invisible as immigrants *per se*. In the codified literature they are often subsumed under such nebulous categories as U.S. citizens, minorities, Spanish-speaking, Spanish-surname, black, poor, or, non-white -- none of which necessarily indicate their immigrant status.

One alternative data source on this population is organizations which deal with these immigrants once they have arrived in this country. The major objective of this research was initially to compile detailed information on the data held by such organizations in New York City. A secondary objective was to learn something about these organizations themselves (*e.g.*, what kinds of services are provided, what is the degree of coordination among agencies, *etc.*)

A preliminary survey consisting of personal open-ended interviews was carried out among eight organizations familiar with the populations under consideration and with organizations which come into contact with them. It was discovered through these interviews that the original major research objective was too broad, considering the state of the data and the resources available for the research. The objective was, therefore, modified so that instead of researching the specific data held by these organizations, the work would concentrate on discovering the types of data available to researchers through these organizations.

A search of the New York City telephone directory yellow pages produced a list of 545 organizations in the City which by name would seem to provide services to these immigrants. A tandom sample of 150 organizations was drawn, with the sample being stratified so that approximately 20 percent of the total number of organizations from each borough of the City were represented. Each organization was sent a letter of introduction, followed by a questionnaire designed to discover the types of services provided and the data collected and available to researchers. Although follow-up letters and phone calls were made to organizations not returning the questionnaire, the response was a disappointing 30.7 percent.

From the interviews and questionnaires, the following conclusions were reached:

- o There is a vast number of organizations, agencies and groups which are working with Puerto Ricans and Virgin Islanders. These include government and service organizations as well as research institutes and universities.
- o There is a problem of definition. What is the definition of a Puerto Rican or a Virgin Islander? Does a person ever stop being one? This problem is at least a partial cause for the lack of a statistical category for this population in the records of organizations. Information is therefore nor easily retrievable, identifiable, or analyzable.
- o There is a lack of communication and coordination among organizations. The information held by one is largely unknown to others. What is more, many organizations do not realize the amount, type and potential usefulness of the information that they themselves hold.

- Possible policy uses of information weigh heavily upon organization decision-makers (and there are many) who refuse to allow researchers access to information. Such concerns may help explain why the rate of return of the questionnaires was so low.

Future researchers should keep in mind that agencies which come into contact with and provide services to Puerto Ricans and Virgin Islanders in New York City are not homogenous, but consist of many organizational types with many different goals and procedures. This makes it very difficult, if not impossible, to do comprehensive research on all types of organizations. It would be more valuable to focus on organizations of certain types or with certain similar objectives, and look at them in detail.

Also, mailed questionnaires are not necessarily the best way to discover the roles of these organizations and the types of information they hold. An approach with much more flexibility and potential would be to personally interview organization employees or volunteers. While requiring more time than a mailed questionnaire, this seems to be the optimum way in which adequate detailed information about these groups can be collected.

WORK-IN-PROGRESS BY RIIES RESEARCH FELLOWS AND ASSOCIATES

Donald L. Horowitz is a post-doctoral Research Associate studying the politics of ethnic and racial relations in developing countries. His work deals with a key aspect of population composition: the relation of ethnic composition to patterns of political integration and stability.(1975)

Shirley Hune is a pre-doctoral Research Fellow writing a bibliographic essay, to be published by the Research Institute, on trends and themes in the literature relating to Asians in America. She is also working on a study of the formulation of U.S. immigration laws and the implications of the resulting public policy for the immigration of Chinese to the United States from 1887 through 1943.(1975)

James V. McNally is a pre-doctoral Research Fellow producing a manuscript which will quantitatively describe the effects of changes made by the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 in the immigration policy of the United States. He is attempting to describe the sources, content and quality of the immigration which has resulted from this policy change.(1976).

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